NEW MASSES

FEBRUARY 2, 1937 FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY

Behind the Auto Strike
Carl Haessler

★

Leon Trotsky in Mexico
V. Lombardo Toledano

★

India and a People's Front
Jawaharlal Nehru

★

Hearst Wants $75,000,000
J. L. Sidney

★

Two Thousand Years of Horace
Rolfe Humphries

★

Plague-Spot In the East
Artemus Quigley

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BETWEEN OURSELVES

OUR correspondent in Spain, James Hawthorne, went down from Madrid to Valencia to arrange for the statement from National War Commissioner Antonio Mije which outlined the immediate military situation in the special Spanish civil war number which we published last week. (And by the way, if you think there is any lack of interest in this country in the Spanish situation, you're wrong; six boys who went through the New York subway trains selling that issue were almost

killed in the rush to buy copies.) Of his journey to Valencia, Correspondent Hawthorne writes: "Descending from the beleaguered ex-capital to the smiling coast city now playing host to the government, I found myself bewildered by the gayety and wealth of goods in the stores. Meat, sugar, coffee with milk-toast pastry, cabarets, movies —with the front eight hundred miles away. Remembering Madrid in negligent October, I asked myself if anywhere in Valencia I could find an awareness of the seriousness of the war. I found the answer in the office of Antonio Mije, where a waiting group of ten men increased to fifty before the stocky figure of the Communist leader appeared. At the barrage of questions, Mije passed a hand over his pale face, where deep lines show the heavy responsibility and lack of sleep attendant on these strenuous days on the Madrid, Cordova, Teruel, and Malaga fronts. I could see his mind fix on the various problems he associated with the different faces in the waiting room: problems of transport, gasoline, food, munitions, in addition to the great labor and political problems associated with the arming of the government's great manpower."

Charles Recht passes on to us a report by Henry Levin of a tour among the colonies of Spanish refugees along the Spanish border. The report, made for the International Bureau for Asylum and Aid to Political Refugees, Paris (of which Mr. Recht is the American representative), runs, in part, as follows:

"At *Bayonne* an old military hospital was transformed into a comfortable place of reception. The refugees work, according to professions. A cook, father of ten children, was forced on order of his commander to leave the battlefield. He is now engaged in preparing food for his compatriots. The refugees themselves apportion the work. Absolute cleanliness prevails. The children play in a garden reserved for them, under the eyes of Spanish teachers. More than 250 children have been received into the families of Bayonne. The population has given a shining example of human solidarity. Help comes from all sides.

"At *Dax* a group of 160 refugees (sixty children, seventy women, and thirty men) found shelter in a school building. Bare necessaries were at once provided by local Committee for Solidarity with the Spanish People. The mayor, a senator and a reactionary, though in small sympathy with the activities of the committee, decided that the refugees' care was a 'social' and not a 'political' problem, and to save himself with his electors, he has taken over direction of the welfare work, in collaboration with a municipal deputy and the Red Cross. A private citizen donates daily food for breakfast, and the remaining meals are taken in the local hospital. It was learned that with the opening of the school term, the refugees would be moved to an abandoned factory on the outskirts of the city. This is a decrepit barracks, without the most primitive improvements. Responsibility for inevitable sickness and possible death from such a habitation must lie with the mayor of Dax. A large number of the city's hotels are closed for lack of business. A suggestion to utilize them brought the objection from the mayor's friends that it would 'diminish the tourist appeal of Dax.' Such is the situation in a city still under officials of the Laval period.

"In *Mont-de-Marsan,* how differently the problem is solved! The mayor, a war veteran and former worker, was elected by the People's Front majority, succeeding a long line of doctors and lawyers. He appealed to the town's population, and 100 of the 130 refugees found shelter among the townspeople. The rest were accommodated in a very modern hospital. All eat in the communal kitchen founded on the mayor's initiative. A nurse prepares well-balanced meals. The dining room is neat and the meals well served. The mayor talks cordially with the old women, encourages and consoles them. He organizes bazaars to raise funds, and from his own has purchased eighty-three pairs of shoes for the refugees. Such is the spirit of the People's Front."

Mr. Recht points out that funds are sorely needed, and asks that they be sent to him at 10 East 40th Street, New York City.

Who's Who

CARL HAESSLER is Chicago manager of labor's news syndicate, Federated Press. He has been a NEW MASSES contributor on numerous occasions.

Vicente Lombardo Toledano's organization, the Mexican Workers' Confederation, is the counterpart in that country of the American Federation of Labor.

Jawaharlal Nehru's speech to the recent Indian National Congress (w[illegible]ch we reprint, excising only those p[illegible] bearing on local Indian matters [illegible]ot on the question of a people's [illegible]), when it was reported in the [illegible]alist press recently, was badly dis[illegible]rted as being an argument merely that socialism is India's only way out. That is true, of course, but Nehru's stress on the immediate task of building a popular front as a means to socialism was omitted from news dispatches.

J. L. Sidney is an economist who is in a position to have a close-up view of the Hearst enterprises.

Artemus Quigley is a new contributor who has been active in civil rights organizations in the East.

Rolfe Humphries is a poet and critic whose work is well known to our readers as well as to those of other publications.

Leo Huberman is the author of the widely praised current volume in economics, *Man's Wordly Goods.*

What's What

NEXT week we will begin a series of three editorials on the Trotsky question. The first will deal with the current trial of Radek and others in terms of the recent development of Trotskyism; the second will deal with the whole course of Trotskyism as political theory and practice; the third will deal with the question of Trotskyism in America.

Don't forget three dates: (1) NEW MASSES studio party to be held Saturday evening, February 6, in Studio 503, Steinway Hall, N. Y.—dancing, refreshments, entertainment, 50c; (2) the Spain all-star meeting at Mecca Temple, N. Y., Wednesday evening, February 10, with Bob Minor, Anna Louise Strong, and Ralph Bates speaking, and Malcolm Cowley as chairman; (3) NEW MASSES theater party preview of John Howard Lawson's *Marching Song,* at the Nora Bayes Theater, N. Y., Monday, February 15—get your tickets through us.

Flashbacks

AS invading armies fall back before the Spanish people, a seventeen-year-old dispatch becomes news again, by analogy. "Siberia all Red," the *Times* of London regretfully headlined its intervention story, January 30, 1920. Kolchak had been captured; im-

perialist outlanders, who swarmed over Siberia, decided it was the better part of valor to go back where they came from. . . . Prisoners, 3200 of them, locked up in Leavenworth because they believed the war was criminal, struck January 30, 1919, for the right to have a permanent grievance committee. Led by Rhodes Scholar journalist Carl Haessler, the political prisoners won their demands. . . . While congress enters the "disarmament" race against Spain, [illegible] bicentennial anniversary of a man [illegible] helped arm the common people of [illegible] continents, rolls round. Tom Paine, [illegible]erica's first professional revolu[illegible]ary, and chief agitator of the [illegible]teenth century's Democratic Inter[illegible]onal, was born Jan. 29, 1737.

THIS WEEK

February 2, 1937

VOL. XXII, NO. 6

Behind the Auto Strike *by Carl Haessler* 3
Trotsky in Mexico *by Vicente Lombardo Toledano* . . 6
Conning the News 9
India and a People's Front *by Jawaharlal Nehru* . . . 11
Hearst Wants $75,000,000 *by J. L. Sidney* 15
Heavy Water, Cancer, and Meaning *A Poem by Henry Hart* 16
Plague-Spot in the East *by Artemus Quigley* 17
Return Room *A Poem by Marshall Schacht* 18
Two Thousand Years of Horace *by Rolfe Humphries* . . 19
Readers' Forum 21
Editorial 22

REVIEW AND COMMENT

An Englishman Looks at Spain *by Leo Huberman* . . . 23
More Freudian Than Freud *by Arthur S. Johnson* . . . 23
Chekhov and Tolstoy *by Alexandre DeRore* 24
"Where the Hormones . . ." *by Donald B. Elder* . . . 26
Brief Reviews 27
Recently Recommended Books 28

SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

The Dance *by Owen Burke* 29
The Screen *by Peter Ellis* 29
The Theater *by Alexander Taylor* 30
Forthcoming Broadcasts 31

Art work by Louis Lozowick (cover), William Sanderson, Maurice Becker, Theodore Scheel, Soriano, Herb Kruckman, Lester Polakov, Leopoldo Mendez, H. R. Harkavy, Hans, Jack Eisner, Scott Johnston, Jack Kabat, Abe Ajay, Rufino Tamayo, Jacob Burck, Joyce, Aaron Sopher, Luigi.

Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification direct to us rather than to the post office will give the best results

Published weekly by WEEKLY MASSES CO., INC., at 31 East 27th Street, New York City. Copyright, 1937, WEEKLY MASSES CO., INC., Reg. U. S. Patent Office. Drawings and text may not be reprinted without permission. Entered as second-class matter, June 24, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 9, 1879. Single copies 15 cents. Subscription $4.50 a year in U. S. and Colonies and Mexico. Six months $2.50; three months $1.25; Foreign $5.50 a year; six months $3; three months $1.50. In Canada, $5 a year, $2.75 for six months. Subscribers are notified that no change in address can be effected in less than two weeks. The NEW MASSES welcomes the work of new writers and artists. Manuscripts and drawings must be accompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW MASSES
FEBRUARY 2, 1937

William Sanderson

Behind the Auto Strike

Political considerations involving the 1940 elections, the underlying strategy of the C. I. O. and the du Ponts—both play a leading role

By Carl Haessler

GENERAL MOTORS' locomotor ataxia in its labor policy is not only tangling up the United Auto Workers' traffic lane toward a unionized automotive industry, but is threatening Governor Murphy's prematurely ballyhooed political tour with the White House as its 1940 destination.

The union can afford the little delay occasioned by the corporation's double-crossing of the negotiations that were to have begun January 18, but the governor is not in a position to have the strike settlement fumbled to a degree where President Roosevelt will have to step in. The 1940 Democratic standard-bearer (if elections then are not upset by a foreign war crisis) must bring triumphs and not problems to his new job.

If Murphy cannot help General Motors get back into production and at the same time help the union and the Committee for Industrial Organization reach their objectives, he will be useless to the Democratic high command as a successor to Roosevelt. In that case Governor Earle, who twice carried Pennsylvania for his party, will again head the presidential dopesheet.

There is the political and personal angle of the sit-downs in the plants. Murphy is highly respected by his liberal friends, who regard him as a courageous, persistent, single-minded administrator on the humane side of the fence that divides human from property rights. They have followed his career as a sort of people's judge in Detroit, as the La Guardia type of mayor in that city, as Roosevelt's proconsul guiding the "lesser breeds" in the Philippines, and now as governor of Michigan, with satisfaction and even pride.

In union circles that same career is seen from a slightly shifted angle. Murphy is given credit for having traveled a great distance from his start as a cub lawyer in the offices of the counsel for the Michigan employers' association in Detroit. One of his early appearances in court was for the union-busting Mack Printing Co. in 1914. Opposing counsel, appearing for Detroit Typographical Union No. 18 to defend pickets, was another young lawyer, Maurice Sugar, now attorney for the United Automobile Workers. Later they saw Murphy—for humanitarian reasons, no doubt, but probably also for political ambition—frequenting labor gatherings and making bold statements. They saw him tightroping as mayor during the relief and bank crises, gaining national and international stature as viceroy in the Far East, possibly with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

direct reference to the well-known Roosevelt bogy of Japan, and back again at presidential bidding to carry Michigan for the party, and to groom himself as a governor in an industrial and political hot-spot to carry on when the American taboo against third terms would send Roosevelt to the dugout in 1941.

Besides, Roosevelt, anxious for recovery and equally anxious to please the Lewis bloc of worker-voters, hates above all things the showdown that General Motors had cooked up for the government. So Murphy's gallant intervention in bringing the corporation higher-ups between the same four walls of his office with the union chiefs was all to the good. A settlement would make him a hero.

THE governor realized the magnitude of the venture. He is said to have remarked, just before the conference opened January 14 in the state capitol at Lansing, that this was no minor-league affair. General Motors had sent its brains in the persons of Donaldson Brown, chairman of the finance committee, and John Thomas Smith, general counsel. Papa Knudsen, executive vice-president, completed the G.M. negotiating trio, but he was simply a spare tire in the conference. President Sloan wasn't wanted either. Brown and Smith represented, in Murphy's judgment, the cream of du Pont-Morgan talent for the job.

But the Wall Street cerebellums, keen against their own ilk, botched the job when they stacked up against Director John Brophy of the C.I.O. and President Homer Martin and Vice-President Wyndham Mortimer of the union. They offered a fifteen-day shutdown during negotiations after the union had demanded thirty. They refused to agree in writing that General Motors would abstain from inspiring and countenancing vigilante activities (that would imply unpleasant admissions), but they gave the governor oral assurance. And by agreeing that the negotiations set for the eighteenth would include the question whether the union was to be the sole spokesman for the employees, they ruled out negotiations with other would-be labor spokesmen at least until that particular point was settled. In return, the union would evacuate its strongholds in the company plants, particularly the key fortresses of Fisher Body Nos. 1 and 2 in Flint.

The union negotiators and their lawyers were incredulous. There must be a catch somewhere. There wasn't at the time, but the Wall Street smartjacks cooked one up as soon as they came to their senses. They made a date with the Flint Alliance, a G.M. set of false whiskers claiming to represent thousands of non-union employees. By arranging to negotiate with what even the capitalist reporters now publicly refer to as the "Flit" Alliance on the day after sessions were to open with the bona-fide union, the du Pont brains managed to ditch the settlement that Governor Murphy had sweated to achieve. No plants were evacuated except those already cleared by G.M. trickery.

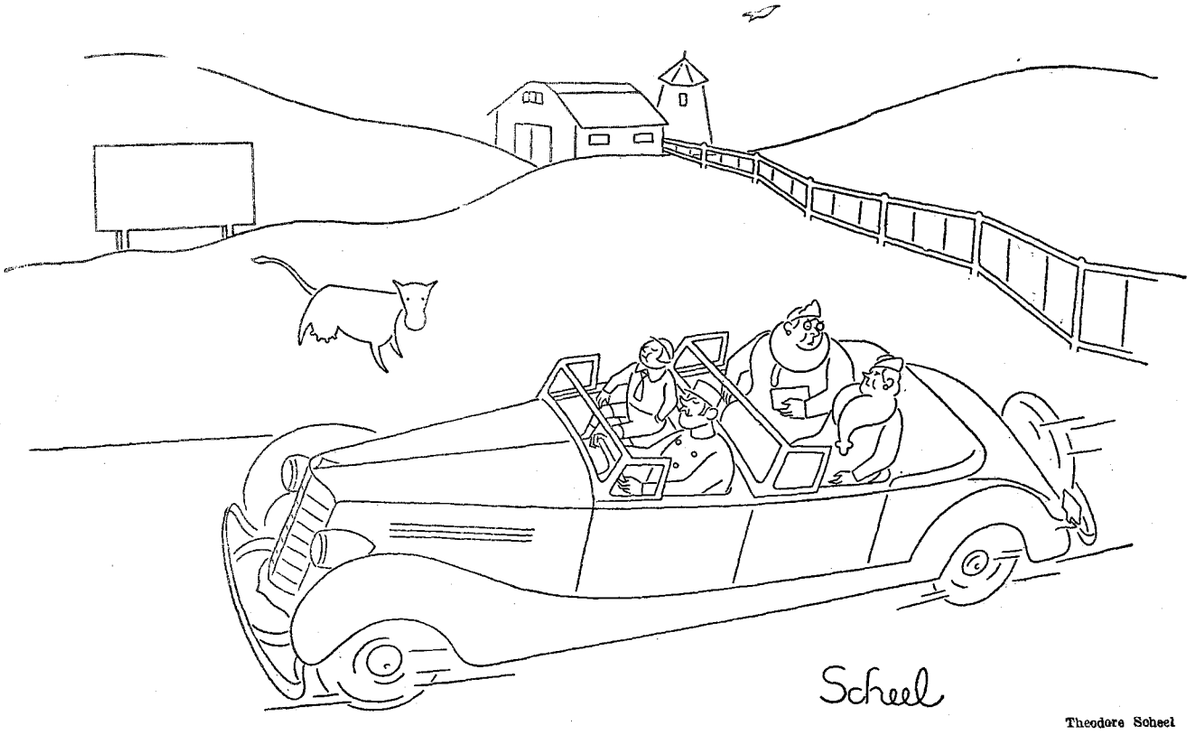
CORPORATION and union big-shots traveled to Washington, and so did Murphy. The company hoped to reduce the odds its conferees had given the union. The union and the C.I.O. hoped to improve the advantage. Murphy prayed for renewed peace and the

Maurice Becker

VESTED INTERESTS AND THE WHITE HOUSE WATCHDOG

"He looks remarkably like a rabbit from my point of view."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Theodore Scheel

"We're keeping Junior at home now. One can't be too careful with all this talk about communism in the schools."

preservation of his suddenly threatened laurels. Rumors traveled that the company had ordered the Flint hospital to make room for a big influx of patients and that a supply of anti-gunshot serum had been obtained. The union, on the other hand, tripled and quadrupled its garrisons while it improved its fighting front by settling sporadic strikes in feeder plants that supplied Ford and Chrysler, and by bringing to an end the crucial Pittsburgh Plate Glass strike. G.M. had hoped to handicap its business competitors in the low-price car market by keeping down their supply of glass. For a time it succeeded, but on the twenty-seventh that strike ended.

Chrysler is regarded by union advisers not so much as labor's friend among the motor magnates as an intelligent slicker. While Ford turned the fire hose on job applicants during the depression, Chrysler shed tears, and handed out coffee and. It is expected that when G.M. settles, Chrysler will come across with the same concessions. Ford is a different proposition. He may beat both rivals to an understanding with the union—as the big concessions made at his dictation to Kelsey Hayes Wheel, Briggs body, and Bohn Aluminum union strikers may indicate, or he may stage just as obstinate and costly a struggle with the union as he did with Wall Street in the earliest twenties and during the depression. Ford is incalculable. Meanwhile Plymouths and Fords steadily slide off the conveyor and fill orders that might normally go to Chevrolet.

Labor's adoption of the sit-down as a class-war technique is calling out new defensive tactics by the corporations. On the day when the Fisher Body sitters were to have evacuated, they were learning instead a new song with words and music via sound-truck by Maurice Sugar, their attorney:

When they tie the can
To a union man,
Sit Down! Sit Down!

When they give him the sack
They'll take him back,
Sit Down! Sit Down!

Chorus

Sit Down! Just take a seat,
Sit Down, men! Rest your feet,
Sit Down, you've got 'em beat,
Sit Down! Sit Down!

To this tune the motor executives are replying with the bum's rush as at Pontiac, where incipient sit-downers were mussed up and booted out the plant; by turning off the heat, cutting food communications, and turning loose the kept cops with gas and guns as at Fisher No. 2 in Flint; by injunctions obtained through a judge owning a big block of G.M. stock; by shifting dies and plant equipment; by luring sitters out through fake agreements as at Anderson (Ind.) and in Detroit; by financing vigilante gangs like the "Flit" alliance; by proposed legislation against sit-downs; and by heating up public opinion against the strikers through articles by friendly capitalist reporters on fit-to-print dailies.

And where does the public really come in on all this? Its attitude toward the press has been markedly suspicious, though it has not gone the length of the Fisher No. 1 strikers, who tore up an American Newspaper Guild union card when a Hearst Detroit *Times* cameraman passed it through the factory window as a credential. The photographer pleaded, cajoled, appealed to the union higher-ups, but was told the plant committee would have to settle the matter. A formal debate followed. The case for the Hearstling was that he was himself an active union man, personally was different from his boss, and that freedom of the press should be maintained. The summation for the negative was simply: "But goddamitall, his boss is Hearst." In the voting, the ballots were unanimous to keep him out.

The position of the public was put into words by Professor Robert Morss Lovett at the Conference for Protection of Civil Rights in the grand ballroom of Flint's doggy Durant Hotel January 17. Last of a long list of speakers, Lovett revitalized the hundreds of delegates when he introduced himself as spokesman for G.M. stockholders.

"I don't own the 3000-odd shares held by Judge Black who issued the injunction against the strikers," Lovett said, "nor do I possess the sixty-one shares acknowledged as his by Prosecutor Joseph, but I am a modest stockholder. In my opinion many American corporation managements, with their tremendous salaries and their inhuman labor policies, are gypping both the stockholders who are their employers and the workers who are their fellow employees. I regard Flint under General Motors domination as a political and industrial house of ill fame that should be cleaned up."

The sit-down technique he characterized as not yet a civil right under the law, but as an industrial liberty that is to be commended on many counts. He hoped for the victory of the workers because, among other considerations, he concluded, the workers as a class are the real guardians of civilization against the twin menaces of war and fascism.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Trotsky in Mexico

The head of the Mexican Workers' Confederation explains why the trade-union movement there opposed granting of "political asylum"

By Vicente Lombardo Toledano

IN order that my opinion may be judged for its exact value, I must explain that I am not a member of the Communist Party of Mexico and that I have no relation whatsoever with the Third or Communist International. Over a considerable number of years, until the Seventh Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow in August 1935, I was subjected to systematic attack by members of the Communist Party of Mexico. At present, despite the change of tactics called for by that Congress, I differ on many occasions with the opinion and the methods of work employed by the leadership of the Communist Party of Mexico. My present position as General Secretary of the Mexican Workers' Confederation, the strongest trade-union organization of Latin America, an affiliate of the International Federation of Trade Unions with headquarters at Amsterdam, also contributes to giving me independence of judgment in certain matters of import to the world proletariat, such as Leon Trotsky's trip to my country.

In the present conditions through which the world is passing, menaced as it is by the grave danger of fascism, the dilemma which places itself not only before the workers but also before all responsible individuals as factors in public opinion, is one of working to maintain democratic liberties or of accepting as inevitable the historical backward leap which fascist dictatorship means for human society. This is not a case of political partisanship; it is rather a matter of universal concern to be viewed independently of the personal ideas which one may have in relation to existing regimes and the type of future relations which should rule society.

One of the rights which derives from the intrinsic nature of a democratic regime and has succeeded in giving a certain objectivity to human rights (as yet so feeble, despite the efforts made for centuries to convert these into effective law) is the right of political asylum. In Mexico no one opposes this right; the workers' organizations not only defend it against occasional attacks from conservative sectors, but have officially asked the government to allow several individuals who were persecuted in their native lands to reside in my country. I personally have in public discussion during the past ten years defended the right of asylum, and have contributed to righting several cases of injustice when efforts were made to close Mexico's door to those who struggle for human betterment in other parts of the world.

Nevertheless, I feel that the right of asylum, just as all rights, is not an abstract rule which

"Maybe some other planet will have sense enough to appreciate me."

can be applied independently of the social repercussions which this may imply in all cases. Between the right of political asylum and Article 33 of the Mexican constitution, which gives the president of the republic the power to expel from the country individuals who may in any way disturb public peace, there exists an intimate relationship; this relationship in turn involves a definite theory with regard to the type of individual who is to be regarded as undesirable from the point of view of the collective interest.

From the time of the popular movement of 1910 (which brought with it the fall of General Porfirio Diaz, dictator of Mexico for more than thirty years) up to today, there exists in my country a program, each day more clearly defined and consciously defended by the working class. This program constitutes the essence and aim of governmental acts that tend to improve the moral and economic status of the people and to defend the indivisible interests of the Mexican people, a weak nation subject to constant foreign caprice. This program has as its main characteristic the transitory joining of the proletariat and other sections of the people to the government for the purpose of compelling the latter to satisfy its fundamental demands and those of the nation. This characteristic explains the state of discredit into which those Mexican *caudillos* have fallen who have abandoned the path which the people wanted them to take, and the rise of new leaders in whom the hopes of the people are embodied. This is why General Plutarco Elias Calles and Luis N. Morones, traitors to this program, were recently expelled from Mexico with the enthusiastic approval of the working men of the whole country. For this same reason, the right of individuals who represent or are connected with reactionary sections of the population to take part in the direction of state affairs is practically denied. For this reason, also, the exercise of civil rights has practically come to be monopolized by a single party, an organ of the government, the National Revolutionary Party, which even by its name indicates that it is an institution created with the fundamental purpose of maintaining control of the public administration in order that the unsatisfied aspiration of the great majority of the Mexican people may be realized. From the point of view of pure theory, it may be affirmed that in Mexico, as in practically all countries, laws are not applied with exactitude. But on the other hand, it can be stated that, from the point of view of defense of popular interests, Mexico is at present living in one of the most progressive periods of its history.

IT IS in the light of these considerations that the application of the right of asylum in the particular case of Leon Trotsky must be viewed. Otherwise the attitude of the Mexican Workers' Confederation, which represents the vast majority of the industrial workers, peasants, intellectual workers, and public employees of the country, cannot be clearly understood.

In Mexico, as has been stated, there has always existed, during the best period of revolutionary action, a close link between the proletariat and the government: a spontaneous (one might almost say, biological) link such as is bound to exist in all semi-colonial countries for whom the idea of national autonomy must perforce be intimately connected with the economic and moral improvement of its producing masses. Before the first attempts at a people's front were made in France, long before the Communist International had spoken of a people's front against fascism, the struggle in Mexico was already going on, in fact along the lines of the people's front tactic. This struggle included the workers, the peasants, middle-class groups, and even the small bourgeoisie, all of them victims of internal and foreign oppression. The theory that the proletariat is self-sufficient and, alone, capable of accomplishing its aims regardless of the social

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

processes and the characteristics of a given country, and that until the capitalist regime has disappeared the government must be systematically fought as the expression of the predatory bourgeoisie, is a rigid anti-dialectic theory. It is one which must lead to dire results when applied universally, when the true value of the national and international economic forces which affect a given nation are ignored. These considerations explain why the Mexican Workers' Confederation has proposed the creation of a people's front which should shortly be organized, and which should be made up of the national institutions representing the peasantry and the political sectors, and to which without doubt there will adhere other social sectors which agree on the proposition of defending the Mexican people from its domestic and external enemies.

Trotskyism preaches a tactic of struggle opposed to the policy of the people's front. It holds that the proletariat is sufficient unto itself and that it should have no alliance whatsoever, transitory though it be, with any government, not even with a government of democratic and progressive character, because this constitutes *collaborationism* and strengthening the power of the exploiting bourgeoisie. By divorcing the proletariat in its struggles from other sections of the people which may be in accord with it and have common aspirations, Trotskyism contributes to the development of the fascist tendency. But fascism can prosper only in a country where the main political groups representing the people are divided. The adage that extremes meet can be applied with precision to the case of Trotskyism. For Trotskyism in practice is equivalent to the policies of the reactionaries who constantly seek to divide the proletariat, to confuse the people, to place the masses in opposition to the progressive government, in order that they may prosper from the division among the democratic forces.

QUITE naturally, therefore, the Mexican Workers' Confederation does not want Trotsky in my country. This is not a simple case of an individual who is simply being persecuted for his political ideas; this is a case of the leader of an international political group which struggles against the people's front throughout the world on the eve of a new war which can only be prevented through the bolstering up of the democratic governments, and the creation of a great international alliance of democratic governments as opposed to the bloc of fascist countries. As chief of the International Communist League (Fourth International), Trotsky must be active in whatever country he finds himself, for otherwise he would negate his own political self and would resign his position as leader of a group which seeks to impose its tactic on the masses.

We respect the valid past of Trotsky. What we do not respect is his present attitude, just as in Mexico we respect the valid past work of Calles and repudiate his present treacherous conduct.

Events have already borne out the correctness of our judgment: conservative sectors of opinion, the newspapers of the bourgeoisie, the reactionary intellectuals and students, and those small groups of workers led by treacherous leaders have applauded Trotsky's arrival in my country. Mexico's conservatives have never defended the right of asylum until today; for the first time, they now speak of respect for the sacred right of hospitality, seal of pride in our gentlemanly tradition.

The Mexican proletariat, on the other hand, views the matter from the viewpoint of popular unity against fascism. What I have written here is also my personal opinion, dispassionate and sincere, based on a sober analysis of the facts and with the faithful aim of preventing the rise of obstacles to the progressive program which the Mexican people, with enormous enthusiasm, is bent on having carried out.

Herb Kruckman

SEEING AMERICA FIRST

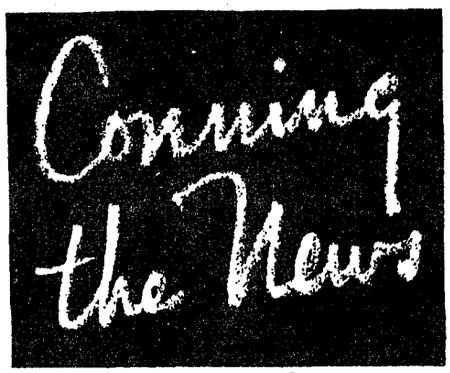
IV—Miner's Homecoming

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Luigi

"Red" Roosevelt's Left Swing to the Right

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Covering the events of the week ending January 25

FLINT auto strikers tightened their picket lines during the week after William S. Knudsen, executive vice-president of General Motors, about-faced in violation of his agreement with the United Automobile Workers by granting a "collective-bargaining conference" to George E. Boysen's strike-breaking Flint Alliance. President Homer Martin of the U.A.W. immediately halted the evacuation of G.M. plants, and the sit-down strikers determined to hold their strategic positions "till hell freezes over." With the strikers maintaining their strong position, the scene of activity shifted to Washington, whither traveled the auto workers' chief and Alfred P. Sloan, president of General Motors. It was in Washington, Thursday, January 21, that John L. Lewis, flanked by John Brophy, director of the C.I.O., and Homer Martin, called upon President Roosevelt to aid the auto strikers "in every legal way" against the economic royalists in control of General Motors who (Lewis pointed out) had opposed F.D.R.'s reëlection to the point where the President had called upon labor to help. Labor came to your aid in your hour of need, Lewis said in effect; now it needs your support in its effort to establish the right of American workers to collective bargaining. The entire American press featured jubilantly, the following day, F.D.R.'s "rebuke" that "there come moments when statements, conversation, and headlines are not in order." With few dissenting voices, the press ganged up on Lewis, just as in the period before the elections it had ganged up on President Roosevelt. One of the few dissenters was Heywood Broun, who called attention to the fact that Lewis based his appeal not so much on the perfectly legitimate claim that aid should be forthcoming from the man it helped to place in office, but primarily on Roosevelt's continuous preëlection advocacy of collective bargaining. "Is there anything wrong," Broun asked, "in a labor leader saying 'You were elected as an advocate of collective bargaining. We look to you to help us in our fight to obtain it'?"

Meanwhile, the auto union strengthened its position on several fronts. Strikers won reinstatement for 300 workers who had been locked out for union activities at the Detroit plant of the Briggs Body Co., and the Minneapolis central labor body declared its support of the G. M. strike, calling upon the metal trades department of the American Federation of Labor to reverse its anti-labor attitude, expressed in a number of anti-strike statements issued by its president, John P. Frey. In the face of such partial labor victories, the press seized upon and magnified what it called "the Lewis blunder" by urging Messrs. Sloan, Knudsen, et al. to "take steps to recover control of their own property"—i. e., forcibly to eject strikers from the G.M. plants. Such a move, it was generally felt in labor circles, would precipitate the same bloodshed that occurred in Flint during the second week of the strike, when fourteen workers were wounded. Further trouble for the week was forecast on Monday when Sloan, in a letter to Secretary Perkins, rejected her invitation to join a new auto strike parley. Tongue in cheek, Sloan wrote: "We must decline to negotiate further with the union while its representatives continue to hold our plants unlawfully."

HOWEVER firm President Roosevelt's rebuke to Lewis may have been, his inaugural address in rainy Washington last Wednesday, a day before the Lewis appeal (actually it was a statement made at a press conference—not, as the press has declared it to be, a direct invocation to the President), repeated all the grandiloquent promises of four years ago, without making a single specific proposal. In words that painted a bleeding portrait of a nation in which one-third of the people were "ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished," the President had nothing more concrete to offer than a promise to "provide enough for those who have too little." Opinion nationally, even by those who praised his address, admitted the vagueness of the inaugural speech. To the working people of America, Mr. Roosevelt's words held out little real hope, since they offered no new policies and called for no new legislation.

While Roosevelt talked, and Sloan and Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins dickered, the LaFollette Committee investigating violations of civil liberties unearthed evidence that industrial espionage by the Metal Trades Association had been carried on in close cooperation with the Army and Navy intelligence services and the Department of Justice. Revelations indicated that instances of scab-herding and spying would be discovered in the present General Motors fight against the unionization of its 200,000-odd employees. As the first facts in the LaFollette investigation came to the surface, a wide-spread move was inaugurated by labor bodies throughout the country to obtain a Senate appropriation of $200,000 to permit the LaFollette Committee to carry on its activities unhampered by inadequate funds. The committee, it has been known for a long time, is badly in need of money—the original measly $15,000 appropriation voted by the last Congress in the early summer of 1936 is now almost entirely exhausted.

Further suppression of civil liberties, in the auto strike and elsewhere, occurred when U.A.W. Vice-President Wyndham Mortimer's speech, which was to have been delivered last Wednesday evening over Station CKLW, Windsor, Ont., was ruled out, and the program canceled, on the ground that the speech was "controversial." And the American League Against War and Fascism, through its national executive secretary, Paul M. Reid, entered a vigorous protest before the Federal Communications Commission against the action of Station WHK, Cleveland, in censoring part of a speech delivered by Paul Miley, on January 13. Miley was speaking in behalf of Local 45 of the U.A.W., and his talk linked "General Motors and its agents, the city police," as jointly responsible for the wounding of fourteen Flint strikers. In Philadelphia, Station WIP refused, after more than two weeks of negotiations, to carry a five-minute broadcast advertising a January 29 Lenin memorial meeting, the local Communist Party charged, declaring its intention of bringing legal action against the station.

MOST spectacular and disastrous event of the week was the great flood, which left 600,000 homeless in ten states and destroyed thousands of homes and factories. Known dead totaled more than 100 on Monday, with scores of additional fatalities unconfirmed. All normal transportation systems suffered, with some completely out of commission and others so badly crippled as to be almost useless. Power failed entirely in a number of cities, while others expected to be without power in a few days, as the waters, not yet at their predicted crest, continued to rise. Most menacing of all was the threat to health, which was described as the worst in any such disaster in history. Pneumonia and scarlet fever had broken out in Indiana; smallpox threatened other areas, and officials declared Cincinnati's water supply to be polluted.

As thousands suffered, exponents of genuine flood control again pointed their annual finger of accusation against the obstacles placed in their path by private industry, large power corporations, and local political machines. They recalled the long fight against flood control waged by the Mellon power interests in Pennsylvania, which is experiencing its second flood of major proportions in less than a year. Opposition by these interests was based upon their power monopoly which, it was asserted, would be threatened by the erection of state or federal dams. Other accusations blamed the federal government for its failure to regulate exploitation of forest land and soil in the now flooded regions. The problem of flood control, it was pointed out, was indissolubly bound up with that of soil conservation; impoverished land has failed to retain excessive moisture and rainfall, thus causing widespread flood damage and criminal destruction. And as starvation, disease, and the rising of the waters increased, making it difficult for ordinary police measures to maintain "normal"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

property relations, troops were dispatched to the flooded areas, ostensibly to guard "health" and "public interests," but actually under the sinister orders to "shoot to kill to prevent looting."

CAUGHT in the very web of treason and terror which they wove for others, seventeen followers of Leon Trotsky spoke up last weekend in a Soviet court packed with newspapermen and diplomatic representatives from all over the world. This assortment of spectators heard them confess that they had plotted death to Joseph Stalin and his associates engaged in carrying forward the heritage of Lenin and that they had planned destruction to that socialist system to which Lenin dedicated his life. Most prominent of the defendants were Karl Radek, Gregory Piatakov, Gregory Sokolnikov, and M. Serebriakov; but the arch-plotter they implicated, Leon Trotsky, continued to carry on his work of vilifying the Soviet government through handouts to the capitalist press from his Mexican refuge. The trial of the seventeen was complementary to the trial last August of the main terrorist center led by Zinoviev and Kamenev; as explained by the defendants, their work through a "reserve center" was intended to parallel and assist the work of the chief group. (Both trials constituted the most recent act in the story of Trotsky, who fought the Russian Bolsheviks until 1917. He joined the Communist Party early in that year, but his retrogression to his former anti-Leninist position began almost immediately: he clashed openly with Lenin in March 1918, over the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. Further disputes continued frequently from then until 1923, when he took up where he had left off in 1917 by declaring open warfare on the principles and the party of Lenin.)

According to testimony by Piatakov, Trotsky's final period began in 1931. It was then that the Trotskyist, Ivan N. Smirnov, informed Piatakov in Berlin that Trotsky's son Sedov had conveyed his father's instructions to the effect that a "new line" was necessary in the struggle with Stalin away from mass action (rendered impossible by Soviet successes in every field) to terrorism and *Weltpolitik* on a shocking scale, involving the defeat in war by the Soviet government through treason and espionage and wrecking in collaboration with fascist powers. The seventeen on trial constituted a "reserve center" because, according to testimony by the defendants, they felt that the Zinoviev followers needed a strong second line of offense. Beginning in 1933, this "reserve center" actually paralleled the work of the chief terrorist group and, with the unmasking of the latter in 1935, became the chief center. Much of the testimony concerned the practical relations between Trotsky and the Nazis, and established the fact that Trotsky had even had contact with Rudolph Hess, vice-leader of the German National Socialist Party. In a letter to Radek, dated December 1935, Trotsky declared that "we shall inevitably have to make territorial concessions" to Germany and Japan in return for assistance. Under instructions from Sedov Trotsky, Piatakov placed orders with Nazi firms at exorbitant rates to the Soviets, the difference going to the Trotskyist terrorist machinery. An American angle was introduced into the case when Vladimir Romm, former Washington correspondent for *Izvestia,* testified that he had acted as go-between for Radek and Trotsky. Trotsky, witnesses said, was also prepared to yield the Sakhalin oil fields to Japan in case of the latter going to war with the United States.

Hirohito—Faced a deadlock

A GENERAL election in Japan within sixty days seemed in the cards when the extreme army clique took measures to block the formation of a new ministry under General Kazushige Ugaki by refusing to name a war minister for the new cabinet. General Ugaki was commissioned to form a government after the spectacular fall of the Koki Hirota ministry soon after the convocation of the Diet. Emperor Hirohito dissolved the Diet for two days following a heated exchange between Kunimatsu Hamada, leader of the Seyukai party, and War Minister Juichi Terauchi, in which Hamada charged that the army clique, of which Terauchi is an outstanding leader, was driving towards a military dictatorship in Japan. The Tokyo stock exchange slumped after the parliamentary dissolution, which was demanded by the army clique "in order to make the political parties, which are so lacking in proper appreciation of the emergency character of the prevailing situation, exercise a measure of discretion," in the words of Vice-Minister of War Yoshikiro Umezu. Even if a compromise is reached, the Ugaki ministry was believed to foreshadow an open fascist-military government unless the parliamentary parties should be able to rally sufficient mass pressure to stem the drive.

The pro-Japanese government clique in Nanking, led by former Premier Wang Ching-wei, seemed farther away than ever from its declared purpose of forcing a civil war between government troops and the anti-Japanese troops in Shensi province. It was reported that General Chiang Kai-shek had finally agreed to a compromise proposal whereby war would be averted by giving government troops control of southern Shensi. This would establish equal control between government troops and the army of General Yang Fu-cheng in Sian, Shensi's capital city, and award control of northern Shensi to General Yang. It was not revealed what disposition was made towards the Communist armies, but indications were that General Chiang Kai-shek would not open a general campaign against them.

AS all Europe waited for Chancellor Hitler's pronouncement before the Reichstag on January 30 of the latest Nazi shift in foreign and domestic policy, Premier Léon Blum of France delivered a speech in Lyons which defined the French attitude toward Nazi rearmament and the German economic crisis. While rejecting the view that German "honor" had to be bartered for economic help, Premier Blum reaffirmed his faith in the League of Nations and expressed the principle that French economic help to Germany was impossible as long as the Quai d'Orsay "should be compelled to remain in apprehension that the help given—these credits, these raw materials, these foreign settlements—will be used only for the increase of the military potential of which France or its friends would be victims." Observers were not optimistic about any peace overtures in Hitler's reply, because a stiffening in the Nazi attitude was noticed, due in part, it was thought, to the growing arms trade between the Reich and its neighbors, especially Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Sweden. One of the most interesting trial balloons of the week was the announced intention of the Nazis to rent Angola in Portuguese West Africa for ninety-nine years in exchange for armaments to Portugal, bordering rebel-held Spain.

NO spectacular gains were made on either side in the Spanish war, but if the odds on victory changed at all, it was on the side of the Loyalists. On the Madrid front, the rebels continued the policy of indiscriminate shelling at predictable intervals, but the damage done was not as important as the significant gain made by the militia near the Hill of the Angels, five miles south of the city, which the people's army forthwith renamed "Red Hill." Although the top of the hill was still a no-man's land, the loyalists had entrenched themselves at the sides and had driven from the peak the rebel artillery which previously shelled the city and commanded one of the roads to Valencia. Conflicting reports continued on the rebel drive against Malaga, in the southeast sector of the war front, with all agreed that the defenses of the city would make it a costly prize, even if it could be captured. The rebels were reported trying to envelop Malaga from both north and south; a move that was expected to fall short of success if reports that the northern army had been stopped were confirmed.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

India and a People's Front

A leading Indian Socialist and President of the Indian National Congress gives that body his views on why his people must have unity to win socialism

By Jawaharlal Nehru

COMRADES: Eight and a half months ago I addressed you from this tribune and now, at your bidding, I am here again. I am grateful to you for this repeated expression of your confidence, deeply sensible of the love and affection that have accompanied it, somewhat overburdened by this position of high honor and authority that you would have me occupy again, and yet I am fearful of this responsibility. Men and women, who have to carry the burden of responsible positions in the world today, have a heavy and unenviable task and many are unable to cope with it. In India that task is as heavy as anywhere else and if the present is full of difficulty, the veil of the future hides perhaps vaster and more intricate problems. Is it surprising then that I accept your gracious gift with hesitation? [Mr. Nehru here reminded the Congress about Indian nationalists now in British prisons.—ED.]

We are all engrossed in India at present in the provincial elections that will take place soon. The Congress has put up over a thousand candidates and this business of election ties us up in many ways, and yet I would ask you, as I did at Lucknow, to take heed of the terrible and fascinating drama of the world. Our destinies are linked up with it, and our fate, like the fate of every country, will depend on the outcome of the conflicts of rival forces and ideas that are taking place everywhere. Again I would remind you that our problem of national freedom as well as social freedom is but a part of this great world problem, and to understand ourselves we must understand others also.

Even during these last eight months, vast changes have come over the international situation, the crisis deepens, the rival forces of progress and reaction come to closer grips with each other, and we go at a terrific pace towards the abyss of war. In Europe, fascism has been pursuing its triumphant course, speaking ever in a more strident voice, introducing an open gangsterism in international affairs. Based as it is on hatred and violence and dreams of war, it leads inevitably, unless it is checked in time, to world war. We have seen Ethiopia succumb to it; we see today the horror and tragedy of Spain.

How has this fascism grown so rapidly, so that now it threatens to dominate Europe and the world? To understand this, one must seek a clue in British foreign policy. This policy, in spite of its outward variations and frequent hesitations, has been one of consistent support of Nazi Germany. The Anglo-German naval treaty threw France into the arms of Italy and led to the rape of Abyssinia. Behind all the talk of sanctions against Italy later on, there was the refusal by the British Government to impose any effective sanction. Even when the United States of America offered to coöperate in imposing the oil sanction, Britain refused, and was content to see the bombing of Ethiopians and the breaking up of the League of Nations system of collective security. True, the British government always talked in terms of the League and in defense of collective security, but its actions belied its words and were meant to leave the field open to fascist aggression. Nazi Germany took step after step to humiliate the League and upset the European order, and ever the British "National" government followed meekly in its trail and gave it its whispered blessing.

Spain came then as an obvious and final test, a democratic government assailed by a fascist-military rebellion aided by mercenary foreign troops. Here again, while fascist Powers helped the rebels, the League Powers proclaimed a futile policy of non-intervention, apparently designed to prevent the Spanish democratic government from combating effectively the rebel menace.

SO WE FIND British imperialism inclining more and more towards the fascist Powers, though the language it uses, as is its old habit, is democratic in texture and pious in tone. And because of this contradiction between words and deeds, British prestige has sunk in Europe and the world, and is lower today than it has ever been for many generations.

Leopoldo Mendez (A.C.A. Gallery)

So in the world today these two great forces strive for mastery—those who labor for democratic and social freedom and those who wish to crush this freedom under imperialism and fascism. In this struggle Britain, though certainly not the mass of the British people, inevitably joins the ranks of reaction. And the struggle today is fiercest and clearest in Spain, and on the outcome of that depends war or peace in the world in the near future, fascist domination or the scotching of fascism and imperialism. That struggle has many lessons for us, and perhaps the most important of these is the failure of the democratic process in resolving basic conflicts and introducing vital changes to bring social and economic conditions in line with world conditions. That failure is not caused by those who desire or work for these changes. They accept the democratic method, but when this method threatens to affect great vested interests and privileged classes, these classes refuse to accept the democratic process and rebel against it. For them, democracy means their own domination and the protection of their special interests. When it fails to do this, they have no further use for it and try to break it up. And in their attempt to break it, they do not scruple to use any and every method, to ally themselves with foreign and anti-national forces. Calling themselves nationalists and patriots, they employ mercenary armies of foreigners to kill their own kith and kin and enslave their own people.

In Spain today our battles are being fought, and we watch this struggle not merely with the sympathy of friendly outsiders, but with the painful anxiety of those who are themselves involved in it. We have seen our hopes wither, and a blank despair has sometimes seized us at this tragic destruction of Spain's manhood and womanhood. But in the darkest moments the flame that symbolizes the hope of Spanish freedom has burnt brightly and proclaimed to the world its eventual triumph. So many have died, men and women, boys and girls, that the Spanish republic may live and freedom might endure. We see in Spain, as so often elsewhere, the tragic destruction of the walls of the citadel of freedom. How often they have been lost and then retaken, how often destroyed and rebuilt.

I wish, and many of you will wish with me, that we could give some effective assistance to our comrades in Spain, something more than sympathy, however deeply felt. The call

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for help has come to us from those sorely stricken people, and we cannot remain silent to that appeal. And yet I do not know what we can do in our helplessness when we are struggling ourselves against an imperialism that binds and crushes.

So I would like to stress before you, as I did earlier, this organic connection between world events, this action and interaction between one and the other. Thus we shall understand a little this complicated picture of the world today, a unity in spite of its amazing diversity and conflicts. In Europe, as in the Far East, there is continuous trouble, and everywhere there is ferment. The Arab struggle against British imperialism in Palestine is as much part of this great world conflict as India's struggle for freedom. Democracy and fascism, nationalism and imperialism, socialism and a decaying capitalism, combat each other in the world of ideas, and this conflict develops on the material plane, and bayonets and bombs take the place of votes in the struggle for power. Changing conditions in the world demand a new political and economic orientation, and if this does not come soon, there is friction and conflict. Gradually this leads to a revolution in the minds of men, and this seeks to materialize, and every delay in this change-over leads to further conflict. The existing equilibrium having gone, giving place to no other, there is deterioration, reaction, and disaster. It is this disaster that faces us in the world today and war on a terrible scale is an ever-present possibility. Except for the fascist Powers, every country and people dreads this war, and yet they all prepare for it feverishly, and in doing so they line up on this side or that. The middle groups fade out or, ghost-like, they flit about, unreal, disillusioned, self-tortured, ever-doubting. That has been the fate of the old liberalism everywhere, though in India, perhaps, those who call themselves liberals, and others who think in their way, have yet to come out of the fog of complacency that envelops them. But we

> Move with new desires.
> For where we used to build and love
> Is no man's land, and only ghosts can live
> Between two fires.

What are these new desires? The wish to put an end to this mad world system which breeds war and conflict and which crushes millions; to abolish poverty and unemployment and release the energies of vast numbers of people and utilize them for the progress and betterment of humanity; to build where today we destroy. During the past eight months I have wandered a great deal in this vast land of ours, and I have seen again the throbbing agony of India's masses, the call of their eyes for relief from the terrible burdens they carry. That is our problem; all others are secondary and merely lead up to it. To solve that problem we shall have to end the imperialistic control and exploitation of India. But what is this imperialism of today? It is not merely the physical possession of one country by another; its roots lie deeper. Modern imperialism is an outgrowth of capitalism and cannot be separated from it.

It is because of this that we cannot understand our problems without understanding the implications of imperialism and socialism. The disease is deep-seated and requires a radical and revolutionary remedy, and that remedy is the socialist structure of society. We do not fight for socialism in India today, for we have to go far before we can act in terms of socialism, but socialism comes in here and now, to help us to understand our problem and point out the path to its solution, and to tell us the real content of the swaraj [independence] to come. With no proper understanding of the problem, our actions are likely to be erratic, purposeless, and ineffective.

The Congress stands today for full democracy in India and fights for a democratic state, not for socialism. It is anti-imperialist and strives for great changes in our political and economic structure. I hope that the logic of events will lead it to socialism, for that seems to me the only remedy for India's ills. But the urgent and vital problem for us today is political independence and the establishment of a democratic state. And because of this, the Congress must line up with all the progressive forces of the world and must stand for world peace. Recently there has taken place in Europe a significant development in the peace movement. The World Peace Congress, held at Brussels in September last, brought together numerous mass organizations on a common platform and gave an effective lead for peace. Whether this lead will succeed in averting war, no one can say, but all lovers of peace will welcome it and wish it success. Our Congress was ably represented at Brussels by Shri V. K. Krishna Menon, and the report that he has sent us is being placed before you. I trust that the Congress will associate itself fully with the permanent peace organization that is being built up, and assist with all its strength in this great task. In doing so, we must make our own position perfectly clear. For us, and we think for the world, the problem of peace cannot be separated from imperialism, and in order to remove the root causes of war, imperialism must go. We believe in the sanctity of treaties but we cannot consider ourselves bound by treaties in the making of which the people of India had no part, unless we accept them in due course. The problem of maintaining peace cannot be isolated by us, in our present condition, from war resistance. The Congress has already declared that we can be no parties to an imperialist war, and we will not allow the exploitation of India's man power and resources for such a war. Any such attempt will be resisted by us.

Sculpture by H. R. Harkavy

Woman of Madrid

The League of Nations has fallen very low, and there are few who take it seriously as an instrument for the preservation of peace. India has no enthusiasm for it whatever, and the Indian membership of the League is a farce, for the selection of delegates is made by the British government. We must work for a real League of Nations, democratically constructed, which would in effect be a League of Peoples. If even the present League, ineffective and powerless as it is, can be used in favor of peace, we shall welcome it.

With this international background in view, let us consider our national problems. The Government of India Act of 1935, the new Constitution, stares at us offensively, this new charter of bondage which has been imposed upon us despite our utter rejection of it, and we are preparing to fight elections under it. Why we have entered into this election contest and how we propose to follow it up has been fully stated in the election manifesto of the All India Congress Committee, and I commend this manifesto for your adoption. We go to the legislatures not to coöperate with the apparatus of British imperialism, but to combat the Act and seek to end it, and to resist in every way British imperialism in its attempt to strengthen its hold on India and its exploitation of the Indian people. That is the basic policy of the Congress, and no congressman, no candidate for election, must forget this. Whatever we do must be within the four corners of this policy. We are not going to the legislatures to pursue the path of constitutionalism or a barren reformism.

There is a certain tendency to compromise over these elections, to seek a majority at any cost. This is a dangerous drift and must be stopped. The elections must be used to rally

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the masses to the Congress standard, to carry the message of the Congress to the millions of voters and non-voters alike, to press forward the mass struggle. The biggest majority in a legislature will be of little use to us if we have not got this mass movement behind us, and a majority built on compromises with reactionary groups or individuals will defeat the very purpose of the Congress.

With the effort to fight the Act, and as a corollary to it, we have to stress our positive demand for a constituent assembly elected under adult suffrage. That is the very cornerstone of Congress policy today, and our election campaign must be based on it. This assembly must not be conceived as something emanating from the British government or as a compromise with British imperialism. If it is to have any reality, it must have the will of the people behind it and the organized strength of the masses to support it, and the power to draw up the constitution of a free India. We have to create that mass support for it through these elections and other activities.

The working committee has recommended to this Congress that a convention of all Congress members of all the legislatures, and such other persons as the committee might wish to add to them, should meet soon after the election to put forward the demand for the constituent assembly, and determine how to oppose, by all feasible methods, the introduction of the federal structure of the Act. Such a convention, which must include the members of the All India Congress committee, should help us greatly in focussing our struggle and giving it proper direction in the legislatures and outside. It will prevent the Congress members of the legislatures from developing provincialism and getting entangled in minor provincial matters. It will give them the right perspective and a sense of all India discipline, and it should help greatly in developing mass activities on a large scale. The idea is full of big possibility, and I trust that the Congress will approve of it.

NEXT to this demand for the constituent assembly, our most important task will be to oppose the federal structure of the Act. Utterly bad as the Act is, there is nothing so bad in it as this federation, and so we must exert ourselves to the utmost to break this, and thus end the Act as a whole. To live not only under British imperialist exploitation, but also under Indian feudal control, is something that we are not going to tolerate, whatever the consequences. It is an interesting and instructive result of the long period of British rule in India that when, as we are told, it is trying to fade off, it should gather to itself all the reactionary and obscurantist groups in India, and endeavor to hand partial control to the feudal elements.

The development of this federal scheme is worthy of consideration. We are not against the conception of a federation. It is likely that a free India may be a federal India, though in any event there must be a great deal of unitary control. But the present federation that is being thrust upon us is a federation in bondage and under the control, politically and socially, of the most backward elements in the country. The present Indian states took shape early in the nineteenth century in the unsettled conditions of early British rule. The treaties with their autocratic rulers, which are held up to us so often now as sacred documents which may not be touched, date from that period.

Hans

"Prosperity? Cut wages and salaries and we'd have it back tomorrow!"

It is worth while comparing the state of Europe then with that of India. In Europe there were numerous tiny kingdoms and princedoms, kings were autocratic, holy alliances and royal prerogatives flourished. Slavery was legal. During these hundred years and more Europe has changed out of recognition. As a result of numerous revolutions and changes, the princedoms have gone and very few kings remain. Slavery has gone. Modern industry has spread and democratic institutions have grown up with an ever-widening franchise. These in their turn have given place in some countries to fascist dictatorships. Backward Russia, with one mighty jump, has established a Soviet Socialist state and an economic order which has resulted in tremendous progress in all directions. The world has gone on changing and hovers on the brink of yet another vast change. But not so the Indian states; they remain static in this ever-changing panorama, staring at us with the eyes of the early nineteenth century. The old treaties are sacrosanct, treaties made not with the people or their representatives, but with their autocratic rulers.

This is a state of affairs which no nation, no people can tolerate. We cannot recognize these old settlements of more than a hundred years ago as permanent and unchanging. The Indian states will have to fit into the scheme of a free India, and their peoples must have, as the Congress has declared, the same personal, civil, and democratic liberties as those of the rest of India.

Till recent years little was heard of the treaties of the states or of paramountcy. The rulers knew their proper places in the imperial scheme of things, and the heavy hand of the British government was always in evidence. But the growth of the national movement in India gave them a fictitious importance, for the British government began to rely upon them more and more to help it in combating this nationalism. The rulers and their ministers were quick to notice the change in the angle of vision and to profit by it. They tried to play, not without success, the British government and the Indian people against each other and to gain advantages from both. They have succeeded to a remarkable degree and have gained extraordinary power under the federal scheme. Having preserved themselves as autocratic units, which are wholly outside the control of the rest of India, they have gained power over other parts of India. Today we find them talking as if they were independent and laying down conditions for their adherence to the Federation. There is talk even of the abolition of the vice-regal paramountcy, so that these states may remain, alone in the whole world, naked and unchecked autocracies, which cannot be tampered with by any constitutional means. A sinister development is the building up of efficient armies in some of the bigger states.

Thus our opposition to the federal part of the Constitution Act is not merely a theoretical one, but a vital matter which affects our freedom struggle and our future destiny. We have got to make it a central pivot of our struggle against the Act. We have got to break this Federation.

Our policy is to put an end to the Act and have a clean slate to write afresh. We are told by people who can think only in terms of action taken in the legislatures, that it is not possible to wreck it, and there are ample provisions and safeguards to enable the government to carry on despite a hostile majority. We are well aware of these safeguards; they are one of the principal reasons why we reject the Act. We know also that there are second chambers to obstruct us. We can create constitutional crises inside the legislatures, we can have deadlocks, we can obstruct the imperialist machine, but always there is a way out. The Constitution cannot be wrecked by action inside the legislatures only. For that, mass action outside is necessary, and that is why we must always remember that the essence of our freedom struggle lies in mass organization and mass action. [At this point, Mr. Nehru argued against accepting offices under the new act after the election.—ED.]

WE HAVE great tasks ahead, great problems to solve both in India and in the international sphere. Who can face and solve these problems in India but this great organization of ours, which has, through fifty years' effort and sacrifice, established its unchallengeable right to speak for the millions of India? Has it not become the mirror of their hopes and desires, their urge to freedom, and the strong arm that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will wrest this freedom from unwilling and resisting hands? It started in a small way with a gallant band of pioneers, but even then it represented a historic force and it drew to itself the goodwill of the Indian people. From year to year it grew, faced inner conflicts whenever it wanted to advance, and was held back by some of its members. But the urge to go ahead was too great, the push from below increased, and though a few left us, unable to adjust themselves to changing conditions, vast numbers of others joined the Congress. It became a great propaganda machine dominating the public platform of India. But it was an amorphous mass and its organizational side was weak, and effective action on a large scale was beyond its powers. [Mr. Nehru here traced some steps in the development of the Indian National Congress.—Ed.]

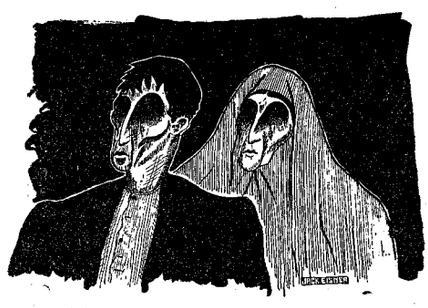
The real object before us is to build up a powerful joint front of all the anti-imperialist forces in the country. The Congress has indeed been in the past, and is today, such a united popular front, and inevitably the Congress must be the basis and pivot of united action. The active participation of the organized workers and peasants in such a front would add to its strength, and must be welcomed. Coöperation between them and the Congress organization has been growing and has been a marked feature of the past year. This tendency must be encouraged. The most urgent and vital need of India today is this united national front of all forces and elements that are ranged against imperialism. Within the Congress itself, most of these forces are represented, and in spite of their diversity and difference in outlook, they have coöperated and worked together for the common good. That is a healthy sign both of the vitality of our great movement and the unity that binds it together. The basis of it is anti-imperialism and independence. Its immediate demand is for a constituent assembly leading to a democratic state where political power has been transferred to the mass of the people. An inevitable consequence of this is the withdrawal of the alien army of occupation.

These are the objectives before us, but we cannot ignore the present-day realities and the day to day problems of our people. These ever-present realities are the poverty and unemployment of our millions, appalling poverty and unemployment which have even the middle classes in their grip and grow like a creeping paralysis. The world is full of painful contrasts today, but surely nowhere else are these contrasts so astounding as in India. Imperial Delhi stands, visible symbol of British power, with all its pomp and circumstance and vulgar ostentation and wasteful extravagance; and within a few miles of it are the mud huts of India's starving peasantry, out of whose meager earnings these great palaces have been built, huge salaries and allowances paid. The ruler of a state flaunts his palaces and his luxury before his wretched and miserable subjects, and talks of his treaties and his inherent right to autocracy. And the new Act and Constitution have come to us to preserve and perpetuate these contrasts, to make India safe for autocracy and imperialist exploitation.

As I write, a great railway strike is in progress. For long the world of railway workers has been in ferment because of retrenchment and reduction in wages, and against them is the whole power of the State. Some time ago, there was a heroic strike in the Ambernath match factory near Bombay, owned by a great foreign trust. But behind that trust and supporting it, we saw the apparatus of government functioning in the most extraordinary way. The workers in our country have yet to gain elementary rights; they have yet to have an eight-hour day and unemployment insurance and a guaranteed living wage.

But a vaster and more pressing problem is that of the peasantry, for India is essentially a land of the peasants. In recognition of this fact, and to bring the Congress nearer to the peasant masses, we are meeting here today at the village of Faizpur and not, as of old, in some great city. The Lucknow Congress laid stress on this land problem and called on the provincial committees to frame agrarian programs. This work is still incomplete, for the vastness and intricacy of it has demanded full investigation. But the urgency of the problem calls for immediate solution. Demands for radical reforms in the rent and revenue and the abolition of feudal levies have been made from most of the provinces. The crushing burden of debt on the agricultural classes has led to a wide-spread cry for a moratorium and a substantial liquidation of debt. In the Punjab, *Karza* (debt) committees have grown up to protect the peasantry. All these and many other demands are insistently made, and vast gatherings of peasants testify to their inability to carry their present burdens. Yet it is highly doubtful if this problem can be solved piecemeal and without changing completely the land system. That land system cannot endure, and an obvious step is to remove the intermediaries between the cultivator and the state. Coöperative or collective farming must follow.

The reform of the land system is tied up with the development of industry, both large-scale and cottage, in order to give work to our scores of millions of unemployed and raise the pitiful standards of our people. That again is connected with so many other things—education, housing, roads and transport, sanitation, medical relief, social services, etc. Industry cannot expand properly because of the economic and financial policy of the government, which, in the name of imperial preference, encourages British manufactures in India, and works for the profit of big finance in the City of London. The currency ratio continues in spite of persistent Indian protest; gold has been pouring out of India continuously now for five years at a prodigious rate, though all India vehemently opposes this outflow. And the new Act tells us that we may do nothing which the Viceroy or the Governor might consider as an unfair discrimination against British trade or commercial interests. The old order may yield place to the new, but British interests are safe and secure.



Jack Eisner

And so one problem runs into another and all together form that vast complex that is India today. Are we going to solve this by petty tinkering and patchwork with all manner of vested interests obstructing us and preventing advance? Only a great planned system for the whole land and dealing with all these various national activities, coördinating them, making each serve the larger whole and the interests of the mass of our people, only such a planned system with vision and courage to back it, can find a solution. But planned systems do not flourish under the shadow of monopolies and vested interests and imperialist exploitation. They require the air and soil of political and social freedom.

THESE are distant goals for us today, though the rapid march of events may bring us face to face with them sooner than we imagine. The immediate goal—independence—is nearer and more definite, and that is why perhaps we escape, to a large extent, that tragic disillusion and hopelessness which affects so many in Europe.

We are apparently weak, not really so. We grow in strength, the Empire of Britain fades away. Because we are politically and economically crushed, our civil liberties taken away, hundreds of our organizations made illegal, thousands of our young men and women always kept in prison or in detention camp, our movements continually watched by hordes of secret service men and informers, our spoken word taken down, lest it offend the law of sedition—because of all this and more we are not weaker but stronger, for all this intense repression is the measure of our growing national strength. War and revolution dominate the world, and nations arm desperately. If war comes, or other great crisis, India's attitude will make a difference. We hold the keys of success in our hands if we but turn them rightly. And it is the increasing realization of this that has swept away the defeatist mentality of our people. [Mr. Nehru here briefly mentioned the importance of the general election.—Ed.]

That will be but a little step in a long journey, and we shall march on, with danger and distress as companions. We have long had these for our fellow travelers, and we have grown used to them. And when we have learned how to dominate them, we shall also know how to dominate success.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hearst Wants $75,000,000

But his efforts toward refinancing seem likely to strike a few snags

By J. L. Sidney

SHORTLY after Election Day, the New York *American* appeared carrying an eight-column, front-page head, "Roosevelt to Improve New Deal." William Randolph Hearst had already stated his switch to support of the administration; the word "improve" in connection with "New Deal" confirmed it. The story is that the man handling the Washington copy had first written, "Roosevelt to Extend Raw Deal." It came back—corrected, which was a sufficient hint to the copy desk. More recently, the New York *Evening Journal* lifted from the paper an editorial on the shipping strike which had appeared in the first edition because, when asked over the phone whether it was accurate, several reporters on the story replied in the negative.

The inference quickly drawn is that, having lost the election, Hearst decided to concentrate on circulation. There may be more to it than that alone. Hearst intends to spring a big financial story sometime during the next few months. It will be the sale of $75,000,000 in securities. It is, of course, quite likely that Hearst's preëlection enmity toward Washington did not express his opinions and feelings alone, but those of financial associates also. The fact that New Deal legislation is capable of placing serious obstacles in the way of the financing might have supplied a more intimate reason for trying at first to get rid of Roosevelt.

In October 1935, *Fortune* magazine carried an article descriptive of the Hearst newspaper enterprises; their finances, particularly. There were charts, tables, and pictures of executives. There was a great deal about Hearst himself. And just a few sentences saying that it could safely be predicted that Hearst would come to Wall Street.

The article had been read in manuscript by W.R.H. himself, so that there can be little doubt, since he passed it, that he was thinking of a big stock or bond sale. Underwriting concerns were interested, and several wrote to Bookham Meek, the executive vice-president of Hearst Enterprises, to solicit a part of the business.

A brief survey suggests that the money is needed and needed vitally. Raising it may be a tough job.

Succinctly, the reasons for the financing are these:

First, Hearst Consolidated, Inc., a holding company which possesses many of the newspaper properties, has outstanding almost $50,000,000 in seven-percent preferred stock. As pointed out in the *Fortune* article, this

Lester Polakov

calls for heavy annual dividend payments which are draining the reserves of the organization.

In addition to the outstanding preferred, subsidiary companies are liable for almost $20,000,000 in bonds carrying high rates of interest. Most of them fall due in the next few years. *Fortune* refers to the large dent which payments both of interest and principal make in the final profits. More important, perhaps, is the fact that all of these bonds are personally guaranteed by W.R.H. himself, so that if they are defaulted, he must make good.

Hearst would want to sell $75,000,000 in new securities carrying low interest or dividend rates, using the money to pay off the old securities. In doing so, he will also save something in the way of taxes. Under 1934 federal legislation, companies within holding-company systems—such as the Hearst organization—must file separate instead of a single consolidated income-tax report. This means that if one company shows a profit and another a loss, the loss of the one may not be subtracted from the profit of the other in a consolidated return in order to reduce the total taxable amount. Consequently, Hearst is now merging his enterprises. Unification will be facilitated by the repayment of the several bond issues of subsidiary companies, financed by the sale of new securities.

Seven or eight years ago, a sale of this kind might have been a simple matter. The routine included enthusiastic descriptions of the organization being financed, the circulation of tips of hidden reserves and of earnings above the amounts being "shown." In brokerage offices, predictions would have been made that the price would rise thirty percent within the next two months.

Today there is the new Securities Act. It requires that a company issuing securities file in Washington a detailed statement, specifically descriptive of the business, its assets and debts, its contracts, etc. This statement is open for public inspection for twenty days before the securities can be sold; during this period, members of the public are at liberty to examine the data and, if they believe they have discovered either false information or the absence of true information required by law, to make their complaints. There are hearings which do not always facilitate the sale of the securities.

For many companies, this is not much of a hurdle. They manage to fill in adequately enough the registration statement forms, and, in the present bull market, to sell their shares or obligations.

The exhibition of Hearst's statement, however, will provide a field day for critics and enemies. If everything to go into it were above possible criticism, the difficulty might not be great. However, the finances of the organization are such that its securities are badly rated by the standard agencies. In addition, there are facts about the business which Hearst will not want to disclose. If public interest in Hearst were financial only, complicated finances might get by simply because investors are not always critical. Hearst, however, is a social issue. Public curiosity alone would focus more than ordinary attention upon his affidavits. But the enmities he has created almost guarantee that the attention will be scrutinizing and detailed, that every weakness will be broadcast, and that objections will be filed, point by point.

Hearst's will not be the first registration statement to prove a battle-ground. In the case of Remington Rand common stock, the company stated, with reference to the strike of its employees, that "these difficulties, involving primarily the question of open or closed shops, have been largely overcome, except minor disturbances." The American Federation of Labor objected that the company had failed to give a full account of its labor troubles. On this it was upheld by the S.E.C., which forced disclosure of the costs of fighting the strike.

Hearst may try to avoid registration. It

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was not necessary to file a statement with respect to the present 7s. After a brief hearing before the S.E.C., he was exempt because they had been sold before the passage of the Securities Act, and had not been registered subsequently on any securities exchange. This will not be true of the new issue. There is one other possibility. Because the Securities Act operates under the interstate commerce clause of the constitution, securities which will not be traded across state border-lines were, in a few cases, given exemption. Hearst may try to sell chiefly to employees, contending that the sale, therefore, is private and outside of interstate business. There have been similar cases. Precedent indicates that Hearst, like others before him, will have to register.

After the statement has been filed, critics will have the opportunity to examine Hearst's finances. To take the simplest point, the bulk of the organization's resources, as shown in the balance sheet, consists of intangibles, e.g., memberships in the Associated Press, newspaper morgues, good will, etc., all of which is lucidly brought out in F. Lundberg's volume, *Imperial Hearst*. The disclosure of the method of evaluation can be sought. Then there is the question of libel suits. The registration statement will have to show the contingent liability on such suits, and there are a great many, as well as losses on past judgments. The question will arise from such disclosure whether the present reserves, and the method of accumulating them are sufficient for meeting possible judgments in the future, or whether, on the other hand, special liable reserves are necessary.

The Securities Act requires that the statement describe the "general character of the business actually transacted or to be transacted by the borrower." The word "actually" is important. The Securities Act administration judges the character of the business not by the words of the corporation charter, but by conduct. The organization publishes newspapers; it sells words and pictures to the public and space to advertisers. But the newspapers, in fact, carry out other functions. It will not be difficult to establish that they specifically serve Hearst's hotel and other real estate interests by giving them news-column space. Motion picture, radio, and other interests are similarly served. It is the purpose of the act to disclose just such things: outside interests of management in so far as they affect the costs and operations of the company. They are rather expensive, and the costs must be shown.

In defense, Hearst can bring forward once more the constitutional guarantee of free press. Since there is no challenge to his right to publish what he pleases, but only to that of selling securities without disclosure of the "business actually transacted," this defense appears defective.

Reporters on the Hearst payrolls have been used as lobbyists to secure legislation which in no way promotes the sale of newspapers. This is an expense which affects earnings. The business of lobbying must be described.

It may not be far-fetched to raise even the question of whether the Hearst organization is in the business of fighting the labor movement. It is a fact that at considerable expense and beyond mere expression of news and editorial policy, Hearst is engaged in such a campaign. He was credited with having been a powerful influence in breaking the 1934 general strike in San Francisco. The campaign has affected income by curtailing circulation. If members of the public insist upon it, it may be possible to compel disclosure of whether there are management interests, ulterior to those of the security investors, which benefit from this campaign.

A question the answering of which will require thought, calls for the "dates of and parties to and the general effect concisely of every material contract made, not in the ordinary course of business, inclusive of special bonuses and the like." Hearst signed a contract a few years ago with Nazi Germany. If this contract is one that was made outside of the "ordinary course of business," it will have to be described. If, on the other hand, it was of a routine nature, it is this phase of the business that must be described. Does the contract cover the support given by the Hearst press to the Hitler government? The campaign against Russia dates approximately from the time it was signed; are the two connected?

There is a contract with Crown Zellerbach for the purchase of newsprint at a special schedule of prices which both Hearst and the paper company wish to keep secret. In fact, this contract at present is delaying financing by Crown Zellerbach and its chief operating subsidiary.

These and other more intricate questions will be presented when the statement is before the public. Perhaps there are other companies whose affairs are in no better shape than those of Hearst and which managed, nevertheless, to sell securities successfully. One difference is that they had not gone out of their way to make enemies. Hearst, peculiarly, will not be able to bank on public indifference.

★ ★ ★

Heavy Water, Cancer, and Meaning

The progress of the proton
Is an evolution more primordial
Than Darwin's synthesis.

We are compounded of the simpler atoms,
And of the ninety-two vibrations
Called "the elements," the first eight tell man's story.
Of these eight, four speak most often:
Hydrogen, oxygen, carbon, nitrogen.

The triune marriage of H and O
Has been the fecund source
Of process and design in all that is alive.
Each of us is eight-tenths water,
The cell is water and in water made,
We are conceived and born in it and all
We think, do, see, and build
Is in solution in this white
And liquid mystery.

With us the mystery of water
Has been a pre-Newtonian gravitation.
For scarce a generation we have glimpsed
The proton's progress, making H a 3, and,
In reversible, electrical ascent
Evolving elements in such a way
There are two *heavy* hydrogens, three oxygens, and hence
There is not only water, but eighteen kinds of it.

Scott Johnston

Our cells are bathed, suffused, and plied
By eighteen kinds of water.

The colloids, hormones, and the genes
Are costumed in a positronic lace
Our senses see as water.
The eighteen patterns of this uniform of life
Compose the wardrobe of our body's theater.
It is these uniforms, their lines and hues,
Which can reveal the nature of our illnesses—
Our cancers, conflicts, entropies, and deaths.

Later, and soon perhaps, the dress itself
Will come apart, and we,
With sub-micronic vision now impossible,
Shall see protonic needles, with neutronic thread,
Stitching the gossamers of wave and granulated motion.
When we see this we shall perceive
A cosmos less chaotic, and a point
In what we glibly now believe is waste.

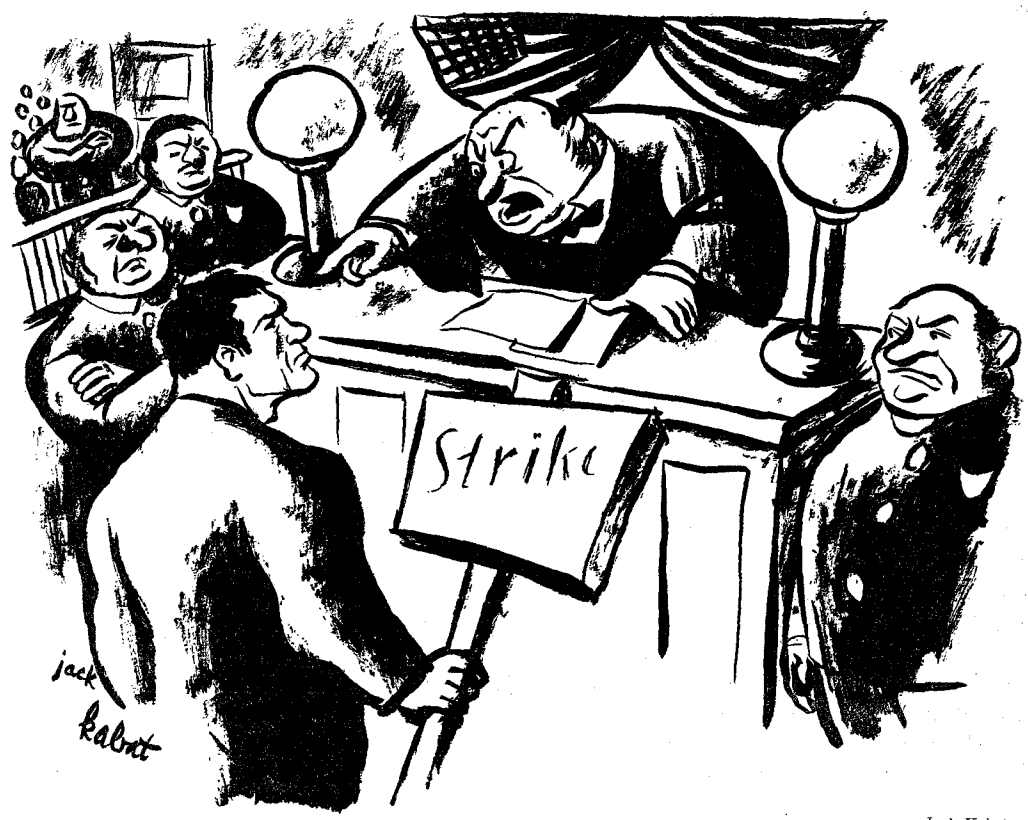
HENRY HART.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Plague-Spot in the East

Mayor Frank Hague's flouting of the bill of rights is seriously challenged by Jersey City progressives

By Artemus Quigley



Jack Kabat

"Are you trying to tell us how to run our government?"

WHEN, last week, Vice-Chancellor Fielder issued a temporary injunction restraining the Jersey City police from interfering with the meetings of the Communist Party of Hudson County, he gave the first round to the progressives in the war of Mayor Frank Hague, the Chamber of Commerce, the Knights of Columbus, et al., versus the bill of rights. It is held certain that the case will be appealed. Hague, hard-pressed for a campaign issue, will battle through the coming spring mayoralty election on a "law and order" platform, the inevitable "Red" issue. The progressive opposition intends to follow through until they have thoroughly aired, smashed to bits, and swept into the Hackensack River the most intrenched nest of open fascism on the East coast: the Hague machine of Jersey City, New Jersey.

Ten minutes from New York. All shipping and railroad conveniences. "No labor trouble," read the Jersey City ads in the New York *Times* and *Tribune*. "Eighty percent open shop," says the more specific Chamber of Commerce Journal. "The police are happy to cooperate with industry." Runaway shops, why go south?

His Honor, Frank Hague, Mayor of Jersey City, overlord of Hudson County, state chairman of the Democratic Party, apprenticed in the saloons and pool-rooms of the "Fighting Second Ward," has service-stripes as a scab in an elevated strike and from a perjury scrape in Boston. His twenty-five years of "public service" have netted him a political machine that is the envy of Farley and Tammany Hall, and has increased the cost of Jersey City government 300 percent since his accession. (Three percent kick-back slush fund is difficult to total, since books are not open to the public.) Hardly a judge, cop, or street cleaner in the county is not made to feel personally responsible to Hague.

The fight against fascism in the recent election brought the Communist Party in Hudson County into the open for the first time in five years, opposing Hague Democrats as well as Hague Republicans. Street meetings were held, radio broadcasts resounded, and the Communist Party was recognized by the Board of Elections for the first time on record. But when the campaign was over, the constitution was filed away until next election, and the real fight began.

A meeting planned to celebrate the nineteenth anniversary of the October Revolution suddenly met a stone wall: "No permit, no hall." One place regularly rented for meetings took a five-dollar deposit which was returned on advice of Police Captain Quail. The Communists took their demand for a permit up to Acting Chief of Police Harry Walsh (Hague appointed) and were flatly refused: "No other reason, I just refuse." The Communist Party of Hudson County thereupon launched a direct frontal attack by suing Hague, Walsh, and other machine officers for an injunction to restrain them from in any way interfering with Communist meetings. Hague reciprocated by declaring "war on the Communists." With that declaration, the coming spring mayoralty election was on its way.

The mayor's war maneuvers mainly have consisted in howling like a stuck pig in front-page statements. "If the Communists get permission to hold meetings, I will expose the truth about Russia"; "If I have to tolerate Communist meetings and demonstrations in Jersey City, I'll quit." A front-page editorial cartoon signed by Hague in his private organ, the Hudson *Dispatch*, declared: "Imported agitators . . . the police will maintain order and protect law-abiding citizens at all costs." Hague's fine legal mind was undisturbed by the Supreme Court DeJonge decision holding that arrest of a Communist for holding a meeting was illegal and a violation of civil rights. "We have not arrested them. We will not allow them to hold meetings. It is an entirely different situation."

MEANWHILE, the Jersey City Central Labor Union was straining under repressive measures. Formerly, this body was little more than another Hague political club; the 30,000 votes of organized labor were safe in his Democratic bag; graft, kick-backs, and city jobs to union stooges promoted a friendship that was well cemented by a $60,000 loan to Hague from Theodore Brandle, ex-president of the Central Labor Union. As Hague stated to the Chamber of Commerce, "We took a hand and reorganized labor. The leaders . . . are gone. In their places are leaders with whom you can deal." Hague's war on the C.L.U. dates from his break with Brandle, who has retired from the picture, when Hague determined to replace coöperation with the C.L.U. by direct control.

The Central Labor Union was neither militant nor progressive, and might have agreed with Hague's opinion of the Communists, but soon found each attempt to strike side-tracked, labeled "Red," or sabotaged by legal machinery. The most powerful unions were maneuvered into receiverships sanctioned by Hague-appointed judges; their bank accounts

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were eaten away by long, costly court fights and fees to Hague-appointed receivers. Injunctions met every attempt to picket—injunctions which prohibit strikers within ten blocks of the strike scene, cover all members of a striker's family, and forbid collections of money to aid strikers.

WHEN THE seamen's strike broke on the East Coast, the C.L.U. determined to establish once and for all the right of labor in Hudson County to organize, strike, and picket. A resolution in favor of the strike was passed, but ignored by Hague. Interviewed by a committee, he assured it that he was "one thousand percent behind labor," but had no use for the Communists. "I'll chase them out of Jersey City." The C.L.U. pledged support to the seamen and endorsed their strike.

Chief of Police Walsh was asked for a clear statement on picketing in view of recent reversals of convictions on this charge by the Court of Errors and Appeals. "We won't arrest them for picketing," he replied. "We will use whatever force is necessary to keep them off the streets." And he kept his word.

The Jersey City and adjacent Hoboken waterfront is lined solidly with police on horseback, on motorcycles, on foot. Strikers attempting to enter Jersey City from their Hoboken headquarters are chased back at the city line. All persons in the vicinity are questioned, and an unsatisfactory answer makes them liable to ninety days as "disorderly persons." A Jersey City demonstration was checked by police clubs which indiscriminately landed on strikers, Rev. J. Wright, liberal minister and observer, two Newark university professors, and a Montclair society woman. Reporters and photographers were barred from the scene.

Some of the most militant strikers were held nearly a month as "material witnesses," after being seized en masse at a fracas between a striker and a scab. Striker Pancelli, arrested for assault and battery, in good health at the time of arrest, appeared in court with a broken nose, two broken ribs, and minor injuries. He balked at questions on the stand, saying he was still in jail and didn't want to get murdered. Strike leaders whose names were signed to Pancelli's picket card were arrested for "conspiracy."

Hotels were warned by police to evict strikers, restaurants ordered not to serve them under threat of losing their licenses. Police sat in the Lens Cafe in Hoboken and defied the owner to feed strikers. The beer license torn from the wall of a waterfront saloon because it was a "Communist hangout" was returned after protest by the A.B.C. Commissioner, but the owner has little hope of securing renewal of his license. Three different strike headquarters were condemned as "unsafe." After the raiding and closing of the privately donated soup kitchen, one was finally rented which has been inviolate because the landlord is the Union Trust Co. (Hague is not so firm with large banks.) Permits are required for everything covered in the bill of rights—permits obtainable from "No-other-reason-I-just-refuse" Police Chief Walsh.

Hague's election campaign war on Communism stands exposed as an attempt to break the seamen's strike, to rule or ruin the organized labor movement, and as a cover for the flagrant violation of civil liberties that maintenance of a machine of terror entails. It must be admitted that at the moment, despite Vice-Chancellor Fielder's temporary injunction, he is still on top, backed by the Elks, the Knights of Columbus, and the organized business men. The seamen's strike is over, but the menace of Hague remains.

Hague rode the November progressive wave that swept along many reactionary Democratic machines, but there are rumors of a split between him and the higher-up Democrats. The cohorts whom he has not hesitated to double-cross when that was necessary to his rising career are ready to jump on the anti-Hague bandwagon when they are sure it will roll. And the forces which can be, finally, the only effective opposition, begin to be heard: the Central Labor Unions, Labor's Non-Partisan League and its protest to the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee, the citizens' committees for labor's rights, for defense of political prisoners, for investigation of elections and the "graveyard" registration lists. There is still time for a concerted progressive drive to topple Hague over before he consolidates his reactionary forces.

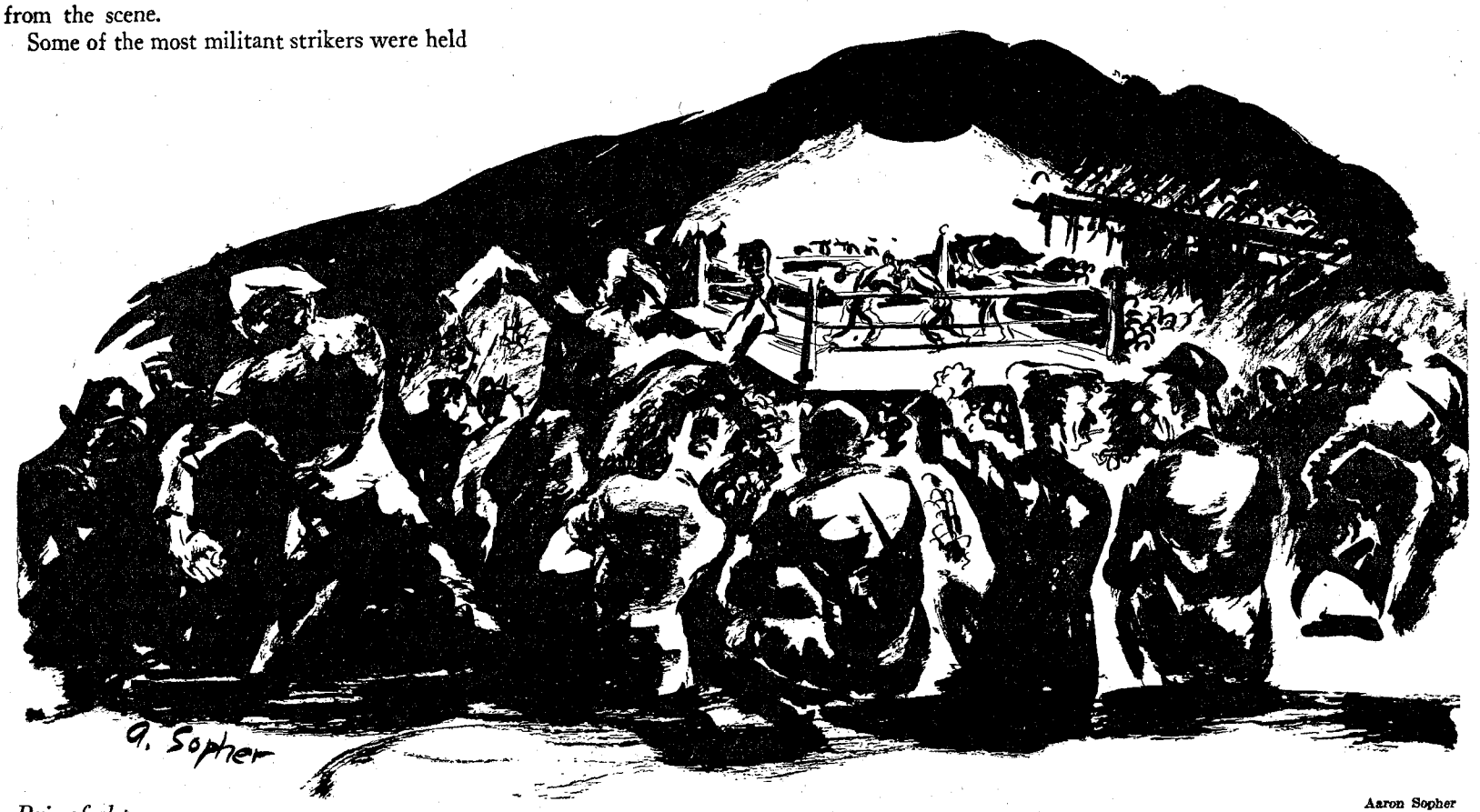
Return Room

The captains steering to the stars of profit
On the seventh floor
Forget the hold, but it is there.
The visitors do not come down to say,
"How splendid!"
Only an occasional city inspector scurries in
And scurries out again.

The fire extinguishers are always very bright.

MARSHALL SCHACHT.

★



Prizefight

Aaron Sopher

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Two Thousand Years of Horace

A much-misunderstood Roman poet is seen against the class background of his time

By Rolfe Humphries

THE Roman poet Horace was born two thousand years ago. It is a rather sinister commentary on this ancestor of ours that his bi-millenial anniversary has to be celebrated almost exclusively by academicians, and is scarcely noticed by our bards and critics. No modern poet could be expected to have the devotion to assemble for the occasion a complete collection of translations of his 120 Odes and forty-two longer poems, so perhaps it is ungrateful to fault Professor Kraemer's work* on the ground that he is not a poet. In the edition prepared by him, there is more verse than doggerel, but more doggerel than poetry: there are pompous and pedestrian versions of Horace, as well as arch and cute improvements on him; the hacks and dubs are here, along with Ben Jonson, Samuel Johnson, Calverly, and Conington. If the best of translations is not always found, nor the best of translators always put to happy use, nevertheless thanks are due Professor Kraemer for performing an act of piety; and among the welter of undistinguished items, the prose translations made from the Satires by Hubert Wetmore Wells deserve praise for their direct and unsqueamish reproduction of a salty toughness in the Horatian idiom. This quality is too often obscured by persons who have an interest in making Horace appear a mellow and genial sot, the columnists' delight, or a propagandist for imperialism after the fashion of the late Kipling.

The searching felicity of Horace, as Professor Kraemer's unpretentious introduction agrees, puts him, to our loss, beyond reach of translators. Nevertheless, a study of his life and work is rich in interesting and profitable instruction. "He writes to us," says Dr. Kraemer, "from a stirring age when old systems had collapsed and a new order was rising hesitantly from the ashes. The reign of Augustus was the culmination of a century of heart-breaking civil war, of tumultuous political struggles which left men exhausted and crying for peace. The spirit of the age Horace feels so intimately and interprets so faithfully that we have in him not merely poetry but a historical document. In the pages which follow, one can pick up all the threads of a tangled web: the disorder, the corruption, and the moral decay of an impotent political system; the dark threats of watchful enemies on the frontier; a New Deal with a slogan of peace and prosperity; the valiant struggle for the creation of a new morale based upon internal reform and harking back to the great old day, the criticism of problems yet unsolved, like the ostentatious rage for wealth and the irrational lure of the city."

This, to be sure, puts it somewhat naïvely, and offers misleading analogies, but if we come to our study of Horace equipped with even a rudimentary dialectic apparatus, we can see more clearly not only how his work reflects, but also how he was himself conditioned by, the class struggle of his time. Marx saw that struggle in ancient Rome in terms of a duel between debtors and creditors, with slavery the former's eventual fate; before the birth of Horace, his father had been by turns free, then slave, then free again. To appreciate Horace, it is necessary to survey the economic history which culminated in a century of heart-breaking civil war and tumultuous political struggle.

THE LAST CENTURY of the Roman republic coincided with the rise of the business men; the collapse of republican institutions was more than coincidence. The economic antagonisms were becoming too strong to be held in check by the old machinery. The exploited classes grew increasingly restless: there were proposals for the restoration of the old peasant state, and wild rumors of an alliance between the slaves and the free proletariat of the city. In the end, an alliance between the bourgeoisie of all Italy and the proletariat, headed by ambitious politicians and military leaders, brought about the overthrow of the old feudal land-owning classes, and of their tool, the republican state. To establish a new instrument for the new interest required the introduction of dictatorship, a principle by no means received with lavish enthusiasm. As Rostovtzev points out, the intellectuals were inclined to take a stand against tyranny, and fought on the side of Brutus and Cassius against Cæsar. This was the losing side; but the victory of Octavian Augustus was not secure until Actium, and was in large measure the consequence of his having persuaded the proletariat to fight, for once, not in defense of its own material interest, but on behalf of a slogan "to save the world for Roman ideals against oriental barbarism and slavery." The victory of Augustus was a victory for the Roman middle class. The victor realized that the benevolent dictatorship he was permitted to exercise must never transcend conservative functions. Recovery, to his notion, took precedence over reform. In the competition between individual business men, neither the leader nor the state machinery he organized was permitted to interfere. The ranks of the great capitalists who had dominated the republic were joined by newcomers from all classes, including former slaves, but the dominance of capitalism was encouraged. The economic policy was completely *laissez-faire*.

It was a pity the father of Horace could not have lived to enjoy this state of affairs, though he might have fought against its consummation. By this time, the son had outgrown the primary phases of schooling, the father had scraped together enough to take the son to the city for a modest education; he seems to have determined that his son should not repeat the error of trying to buck Rome. The atmosphere there at Rome was by no means serenely academic; the period was one of increasing violence climaxed by the outbreak of overt hostilities between Cæsar and Pompey.

Athens was a better place to study, but the poet's reading of the Greek poets in the Academy was interrupted by a call to action. Brutus, the tyrannicide, was making his headquarters there, and Horace was among the intellectuals persuaded by him to accept commissions in the republican army. Horace soldiered with some success, but fled the field with the losers at Phillippi, and made his way home to find most of the family's Venusian holdings confiscated by the bonus demands of the victorious soldiery. He salvaged enough to take him to Rome and buy a clerkship in the treasury department. Thus he managed to live, and find enough marginal time to stroll around, have a little fun, and put in some time on his scribbling.

Horace was not an æsthete. Any tendency to dilettantism had been knocked out of his head by tough schooling he had received. He had never been infected by the atmosphere of literary cults and coteries, common as they were at Rome, nor was he inclined to think that poetry could be compounded out of obscure perversity and neurotic conceits. He began with a kind of writing which he considered none too far from prose. His Satires, or Conversation Pieces, afford autobiographical and critical commentary in defense of his position and practice; other items are scarcely more than anecdotes, wise-cracks, or risqué argument of the sort that particularly amuses the commercial mind. Not high art, they are in general readable and entertaining, particularly as they reflect a quite unliterary, un-Roman interest in business men and affairs. As to their morality, Horace explicitly tells us that between right and wrong Nature can draw no such distinction as between things

---

* THE COMPLETE WORKS OF HORACE. Edited and with an introduction by Casper J. Kraemer, Jr. Modern Library. 95c.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gainful and harmful. Sinfulness, whether in fiscal or sexual matters, consists only in going to extremes.

Horace published a second collection of Satires, less incisive than the first, and on the strength of these successes added a collection of early pieces which our present editor classifies as Refrains. Meanwhile, his literary security had been greatly advanced by his meeting with Virgil, who presented Horace to the man who had put him on his feet again after the evictions at Cremona, a rich young business man, well educated, personal confidant and adviser of Augustus. Mæcenas believed that an artistic renaissance would promote as well as advertise the glories of the Augustan regime; Horace realized that the institution of patronage was a necessity for the aspiring writer. Mæcenas probably had his doubts about accepting Horace, for the tone of the Satires had been pugnaciously republican, but Mæcenas was truly liberal, and time fought on his side, proposing to republicans the choice between Antony and Augustus, and no sensible person could have any doubt as to which was the lesser evil. It was not, with Horace, a question of acquiring economic independence at a cost of political subservience. As for the farm Mæcenas gave him, Horace felt that he properly had it coming to him after the robbery at Venusia. There is no doubt that the direction of his work was thereby changed, but there is no evidence that the change was in the direction Mæcenas and Augustus would have preferred.

The official policy tended to promulgate nationalistic feeling, to revive the old Latin classics, to reëstablish in the minds of men devotion to the primitive Italian agrarianism out of which, it was felt, the greatness of the state had arisen, only to be corrupted by the degenerate practices of the mercantile age. Against the official policy, Horace was prepared to argue that what Rome needed for cultural enlightenment was not less but more of the Greek spirit, not less but greater urbanization of the mind.

This is not to say that the Odes reflect an arty, romantic, ivory-tower, escapist theory of art; on the contrary. Plenty of that kind of verse was being written in Rome, some of it even within the circle of Mæcenas, but it was a kind of verse with which Horace had no patience whatever. The Odes are loud with a sense of civic obligation and individual responsibility; moreover, they are informed with a realistic observation. Like the Satires, the Odes persist in the mention of rebels against tyranny; the final important poem of the first book, an intensely patriotic outburst in commemoration of Actium, culminates, without a trace of chauvinism, in a splendid tribute to the beaten Cleopatra. With all the urge of Roman pride and loyalty, Horace yet faces the fact that he has to go back to the equivalent of our colonial times to find men worthy of his praise. The Regulus poem is a terrific denunciation of the vulgarity, corruptions, and decadence of a degenerating plutocracy; Regulus goes with dignity to death among his Carthaginian foes rather than face prolonged existence in such a state. Frank says of his twenty-fourth ode that "not even in the period of his own distress did he so nearly approach a complete condemnation of capitalism and all its consequences."

A. Ajay

"This coin must prove sufficient, my good man. After all, you mustn't lose your self respect."

The two books of letters in verse, reverting in form somewhat to the manner of the Satires, and written during the poet's later forties, show signs of weariness. The poet seems to have been discouraged by the reception of the Odes, as well as saddened by the death of Virgil. With the latter gone, Horace had to be acknowledged as Rome's poetic leader, and Augustus called on him to compose the Secular Hymn for the ceremonial games ostensibly in honor of Apollo. A revolutionary situation was in the making throughout the western provinces, and Augustus projected a big religious show to serve the disguised pretext of booming the political regime. To this period also belongs the fourth book of Odes, a rather scanty collection organized around poems in praise of military victories on the northern frontier, and supported by material not quite good enough for former books, patched up and worked over. The evidence is perhaps insufficient to prove that Horace could stand adversity better than prosperity.

Finally, in his latest and longest single work, a verse essay on the art of poetry, Horace documents for us the case history of one type of artist in a society whose culture varies according to the class character of the population. In the light of his experience we are shown how the impulse to classicism and classical unity is the inevitable dialectical product of an essentially individualistic and romantic time. The very attempt of the individual to escape from romanticism is itself fatally romantic; the classicism of Horace, like that of T. S. Eliot in our own day, is really only romanticism's double negative. Horace records for us other phenomena familiar to such a time. He tells us, for instance, of conceited dilettants whose self-confidence was the equivalent of criticism, and of long-haired bohemians whose reputation was in direct proportion to the unkemptness of their appearance; he mentions æsthetic phonies with a predilection for the archaic, and the self-subsidized newly-rich throwing parties to promote flattering notice of their otherwise intolerable works. For all such gentry Horace had an abiding scorn. He thought that literature, like athletics, was something for which men had to train, and lolling around salons a vicious practice. If a man was to write well, he had to begin by knowing something, and academic information was not enough. To get the right thing said at the right moment required tenfold scrutiny, patience, and immunization of the mind against the itch for publication. Mediocrity in art was anathema. "Neither gods, nor men, nor even booksellers, can stand for pretty good poets."

The essay shows that Horace had some shrewd intimations as to how the degeneracy of art forms was effected by material conditions. In talking about the history of Greek drama, for instance, he observes that "with the growth of wealth and luxury in the state, and the consequent deterioration in the taste and character of the audience, the music became more florid and sensational, the diction more artificial, and the sentiments more obscure and oracular." He recognizes the difficulty in which an artist who aims at classical unity is involved by virtue of the fact that the class character of the audience is divided: the upper classes, he says, are often offended by lines which the proletariat approves. And when it comes right down to contemporary fundamentals, he attributes the imperfect state of Roman poetry to the fact that education conditions the reflexes of Roman youth along other lines:

> Our Roman boys, by puzzling days and nights,
> Bring down a shilling to a hundred mites.
> Come, young Albinus, tell us, if you take
> A penny from a sixpence. what 'twill make?
> Fivepence. Good boy! you'll come to wealth one day.
> Now add a penny. Sevenpence, he will say.
> O, when this cankering rust, this greed of gain,
> Has touched the soul and wrought into its grain,
> What hope that poets will produce such lines
> As cedar-oil embalms and cypress shrines?

"This love of gain," observes an earlier editor of Horace, "hath been uniformly assigned, by the wisdom of ancient times, as the specific bane of arts and letters. Longinus and Quinctilian account, from hence, for the decay of eloquence, Galen of physic, Petronius of painting, and Pliny of the whole circle of the liberal arts. For being, as Longinus calls it, *Nosema mikropoion,* a disease which narrows and contracts the soul, it must of course restrain the generous efforts and expansions of genius; cramp the free powers and energies of the mind, and render it unapt to open itself to wide views, and to the projection of great, extensive designs. It is so in its consequences. For, as one says elegantly, when the passion of avarice grows general in a country, the temples of honor are soon pulled down, and all men's sacrifices are made to fortune."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

READERS' FORUM

Contributor Shukotoff replies to Dr. Canby—Writers' Union announces a platform

● Mr. Henry Seidel Canby, commenting last week on my article "Academic Freedom at Yale," admits having censored Harold J. Laski's brief review of Prof. Davis's book *Capitalism and Its Culture,* but asks us to accept his action as a legitimate exercise of editorial rights. His argument takes two directions.

In the first place, he tries to justify his excision on literary grounds. Mr. Laski's 76-word note, he says, was a "blurb," not a review, and therefore had to be cut. To prove that Mr. Laski's note was a "blurb," Mr. Canby tells us that Laski intended it as a "blurb" and that it had "the form of a publisher's blurb." As far as I know, the difference between a "blurb" and a review does not inhere either in form or the writer's intention, but in the discrepancy between the quality of the book and the praise accorded to it. If the reader will examine the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for September 1935, he will find a review of *Capitalism and Its Culture* by Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, retiring president, in which the book is described as "factual, vivid, dynamic, and convincing . . . an indictment of the capitalistic system that is overpowering." In the *American Political Science Review* of October 1935, Prof. E. Allen Helms wrote: "On the whole, the book is splendidly organized and delightfully written, and it will undoubtedly be widely read and extensively quoted throughout the world." John Haynes Holmes characterized *Capitalism and Its Culture* as "a book of encyclopedic proportions and of scholarly authority." Similar praise has been given by Charles A. Beard, John T. Flynn, Harry Elmer Barnes, Prof. E. A. Ross, and John Dewey. Mr. Canby tells us that he "quite properly deleted the 'blurb' from Laski's review." Comparison of Laski's original 76 words with the 36 words run by Mr. Canby reveals that the following were cut: the phrase, "as admirable a survey as we know"; the word "massively" from the sentence, "He collects massively a great body of material"; the statement, "He sets it out with impressive clarity"; and a sentence informing the reader that Prof. Davis's book provided a good point from which to begin a study of "the problem of our generation." In short, Mr. Canby stripped Laski's review of every laudatory phrase and turned a statement of praise into a colorless statement of description. Then, contrary to his assertion that he "was . . . endeavoring to make up for a loss for which we were not responsible by printing a statement over an influential name . . .," Mr. Canby printed Laski's 36 words over the initials H. J. L., not over Laski's name. I take it that had Mr. Canby been editor of the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science or of the *American Political Science Review,* Prof. Fairchild or Prof. Helms could not have gotten by with their "blurbs."

To reënforce his literary explanation for cutting Laski's review, Mr. Canby denies having any "political" reasons for such an act. "Mr. Lamont," Mr. Canby declares, "is not, as stated in my article, the publisher of the *Saturday Review,* nor does he have any managerial or directorial connection with it." To say that Mr. Canby is hedging would perhaps be unkind. Let the reader draw his own conclusions from a signed article by Frederick Woltman which appeared in the *World-Telegram* of April 7, 1936. The article reveals, among other things, the treatment Mr. Canby gave *M-Day,* a book in which the banking activities of the same Mr. Lamont treated by Prof. Davis also figure. The *World-Telegram* article reads as follows:

"Henry Seidel Canby, editor of the *Saturday Review,* told the *World-Telegram* today he had turned the proofs over to Mr. Lamont, *who owns the magazine,* 'so he could suggest an impartial critic.' [My emphasis.—A. S.]

"Occasionally with highly controversial books, Mr. Canby said, he seeks the advice of outsiders.

"'I glanced through this book and saw it had to do with banking and the Senate inquiry. Mr. Lamont was a witness and knew a great deal about the subject so he was very well qualified to suggest a critic. Mr. Lamont would not have reviewed the book himself since it discussed him.'

"Of several names Mr. Lamont suggested, Mr. Canby selected that of Dr. Charles Seymour, an old friend of Mr. Lamont [and, be it added, Provost of Yale University—A. S.], to write the review for last Saturday's issue . . .

"*M-Day,* Dr. Seymour attacked in last Saturday's columns of the *Saturday Review* as 'discursive and misleading' and historically 'scarcely of greater importance than the radio speeches of Senator Nye.'

"'Professor Seymour was a very good choice as a critic,' Mr. Canby said, 'because he is conservative and not connected with any of the financial houses.' . . . [Prof Seymour is a director of the Second National Bank of New Haven.—A. S.]"

In his commentary on my article, Mr. Canby states that Mr. Lamont "knew nothing whatsoever of the procedure followed in reviewing Prof. Davis's book. . . ." So far as I understand things, no editor needs to be called in and given written commands in order to know the desires of his owner. Why Mr. Canby should also ask us to believe that on April 21, 1936, one year after the publication of Prof. Davis's book, neither he nor anyone in his office knew what *Capitalism and Its Culture* was about, is a little hard to understand. The only conclusion to be drawn is that if the Gods make those whom they would destroy mad, the financial interests seem to make those whom they would keep, naïve.

Mr. Canby's commentary reënforces the point presented in my article that some of the financial interests that dominate the Yale Corporation and are responsible for Prof. Davis's ousting also account for the treatment Mr. Canby accorded Laski's review of *Capitalism and Its Culture.*

ARNOLD SHUKOTOFF.

An Economic Platform for Writers

● On December 14 another writer died.

Novelist, editor, poet, founder of two magazines, and a journalist in many cities, he was forced in the very heyday of "prosperity"—1927—to write and title for the old *Graphic* his life story: "I'm starving—yet I'm in *Who's Who* as the author of twenty-seven famous books."

Nine years later he was buried in Potter's field,

Jacob Burck

receiving a half-column obituary in the New York *Times,* which of course delicately omitted this part of the tragic finale.

But writers have begun to realize that the idea that it is "R-r-romantic!" to drift from garret to Potter's field is as outmoded as the horse and buggy.

For example, a similar writer, of pre-revolutionary ancestry, also well along in years and the author of thirty-eight books, was in desperate straits a short time ago. This time the sequel is different. She joined our New York local. The unemployed section fought the case aggressively before the W.P.A. and succeeded in saving her—and many others—from a like fate.

Innumerable experiences like these two have demonstrated to writers the urgency and efficacy of banding together for their mutual economic benefit and protection. They are raising high their slogan *"To obtain for writers security through the pursuance of their craft."*

In view of this, the New York local of the American Writers' Union has initiated a series of monthly forums on the economic problems of the writer—the next to be 8:30 p. m., February 4, at 812 Broadway, and others on the first Wednesday of each month—to prepare the way for an Economic Congress of Writers in the spring.

At these meetings, the following draft program will be discussed and amplified, and a campaign mapped out:

I. *The writer and the publisher:*
1. Manuscripts may be sent to as many publishers *at the same time* as the author desires, the author to consummate an arrangement for publication with whichever publisher he chooses.
2. Time limit on reading of manuscripts to range from one week for articles of timely interest, to one month for novels.
3. Payment of manuscripts to be on acceptance, not on publication.
4. Acceptance means publication. If not published within six months, rights revert to author, and publisher's payment to be considered as option fee.
5. Minimum word rates to begin with two cents per word for pulp-paper magazines.
6. Bi-monthly settlement on royalties to be guaranteed.

II. *The writer and the agents:*
1. No fee to be charged for reading manuscripts.
2. Agents must meet the A.W.U. standards as to fair practices and fees.

III. *The writer and the government:*
1. Establishment of a National Academy of Letters to provide a subsidy for the creation and publication of literature to be financed in part by a tax on literature in the public domain.
2. Continuation and expansion of W.P.A. to provide writing jobs for all unemployed, needy writers at trade union wages.
3. Immediate inclusion of writers in the provisions of the Social Security Act, the writer to be classified not as "self-employed," but as a worker receiving his wages irregularly.
4. All public libraries to be expanded steadily.

IV. *The writer and the rackets:*
1. Fly-by-night and unscrupulous publishers to be exposed.
2. Unscrupulous agents to be exposed.
3. Illegitimate writing schools to be exposed.

ROBERT STUART, *Chairman,*
Research Committe American Writers' Union,
215 Second Avenue, New York City.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW MASSES

ESTABLISHED 1911

Editorial Staff
M. R. BENDINER, THEODORE DRAPER, F. W. DUPEE, JOSEPH FREEMAN, MICHAEL GOLD, CROCKETT JOHNSON, BRUCE MINTON, ARNOLD REID, EDWIN ROLFE, ISIDOR SCHNEIDER, ALEXANDER TAYLOR, MARGUERITE YOUNG

Contributing Editors
GRANVILLE HICKS, JOSHUA KUNITZ, LOREN MILLER

Business and Circulation Manager
GEORGE WILLNER

Advertising Manager
ERIC BERNAY

★

Roosevelt's Progress

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S second inaugural address in large measure was identical in tone and phrasing with the unfortunate keynote set by his predecessor in office. What made Herbert Hoover's public pronouncements a by-word for treacherous optimism was that they were based on the notion that prosperity is a magic word, the mere utterance of which could take the place of deeds.

"We are moving toward an era of good feeling," in the mouth of Roosevelt is a reversion to the Hoover era. This "era of good feeling," in Roosevelt's case as in Hoover's, is based entirely on stock-market calculations and corporate profits. When business is good or getting better for the business men, politicians sit tight and do nothing to "disturb" the "upward swing." That is what Hoover professed to do in an era to which Americans now look back with horror. That is what President Roosevelt is beginning to do.

This "era of good feeling" leaves the organized workers, the unemployed, and the peace movement out of account. The peace movement was betrayed by the Roosevelt-endorsed embargo against Spanish democracy. The unemployed were betrayed by the executive order to slash W.P.A. one-fifth. And the trade-union movement has been let down with indecent cynicism.

Questioned by the press about his stand on the General Motors strike, the President declined to say more than that "in the interest of peace, there come moments when statements, conversation, and headlines are not in order." That, of course, made headlines. But not in the union's interest.

And then, hard on the heels of the inaugural address, came the announcement by W.P.A. chief Harry Hopkins that the administration intends to fire 600,000 more project workers by June. This alarmed even such a staunch administration paper as the New York *Post* into exclaiming: "How many synonyms are there for the word 'shocking'? We've run out of adjectives for the administration's W.P.A. program."

It is significant that the Hearst press and the Liberty League press in general greeted the inaugural address with emotional fervor ranging from sighs of relief to exclamations of ecstasy. The vague expressions of humanitarian sentiments about the third of our people who are "ill-housed, ill-clad, and ill-nourished" did not disturb them, for, as the New York *Times* put it, this was "a message of hope and healing."

Whether the workers are to get "hope" and the economic royalists "healing" depends upon the united front of workers, farmers, and middle class, following the path of the unemployed, who marched to Washington to press their demands, and the automobile strikers, whose ranks are still militant and solid.

Socialists and Trotskyism

TO THOSE members of the Socialist Party who abhor, as much as we do, continued rancor and rivalry within the labor movement, we address ourselves in the hope that the unpleasant situation created by ugly attacks against the NEW MASSES in the *Socialist Call* will cease.

The problem of the "Debs Column" has arisen, we believe, because the Socialist Party has cut itself off from the whole labor movement in the campaign to help the Spanish people, as well as in most other things, in favor of isolation and sectarianism. While every genuine united-front measure in favor of Spain has been shabbily boycotted or sabotaged, the Socialist Party has given exclusive ballyhoo to a project which it can call its own only because everybody else considers it unfruitful. It will interest our readers to know that both the *Nation* and the *New Republic*, which last week carried the Debs Column ad which we rejected, themselves rejected it this week. The *New Republic* makes no editorial statement, but the *Nation* says its rejection was based partly on "strategic" grounds.

From different approaches, the contributions of Jawaharlal Nehru and Vicente Lombardo Toledano in this issue have much in common and much to teach American Socialists. The Socialist Nehru, grappling with the problem of a realistic program for India, has come to the conclusion that Socialists do not have to choose the people's front *or* socialism. It was nine months ago, at the previous Lucknow Congress, that the slogans unity and socialism were launched by Nehru; today, under the aegis of the people's front, he has integrated unity and socialism in terms of the concrete needs and practical possibilities in India today.

The anti-people's front tendency in the American Socialist Party is a result of Trotskyist infiltration. Is it not cause for a reëxamination of the whole question that only the enemies of socialism, of the Mexican labor movement, and even of the Cárdenas government, have given thanks for Trotsky's presence in Mexico? And is not Radek's confession (which, coming after the Zinoviev and Kamenev executions, blasts any trace of credibility that might attach to the notion that it was bought by promises of leniency) the crowning proof of the defeatism and megalomania that are the twin geniuses of Trotskyism?

In France and Spain, the people's front was born, after great difficulty, only when fascism became an immediate threat. In Great Britain, as the Baldwin government emerges more and more as international broker for the fascist states, the beginnings of a people's front was recently laid with the achievement of an agreement for joint work between the Socialist League, led by Sir Stafford Cripps, the Independent Labor Party, and the Communist Party.

And now Jawaharlal Nehru! Are the Socialists America bent on self-destruction, isolation from all that is moving ahead? We refuse to believe that this Trotskyist corrosion is a permanent prospect before us. Rather, we believe that Socialists and Communists can speedily isolate this menace and build a united front for peace, freedom, and socialism.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REVIEW AND COMMENT

An Englishman looks at Spain—History, unconscious and hormonic—Tolstoy and Chekhov

FEW people are so well equipped to write a book on the Spanish civil war as John Langdon-Davies. He knows the country, the people, the language, both Spanish and Catalan. He is a student of Spanish history and has written of its people before. He was in Spain just before the war, and during it, as the special correspondent for the *News-Chronicle,* an English newspaper.

The key to an understanding of the kind of book* he has written is contained in two sentences on page 218. "There are those, of course, who would say that the present continuing tragedy of the streets makes talk about a picture a waste of time. I do not think so, for El Greco has caught in his masterpiece something which explains that very tragedy and quickens our understanding of it." It is not merely in this chapter on Toledo that the author has seen fit to discourse on pictures; all through the book there are vivid sketches not only of pictures, but also of cathedrals, streets, cafés, parades, manners, and many other things which could easily have become annoyingly irrelevant, but in the author's skillful hands help to "quicken our understanding" of the tragedy. Mr. Langdon-Davies knows that his readers will better understand what happened if at the same time they understand the people who made it happen. And because his picture of the character of the Spanish people has been etched so sharply in incident after incident, we can see justification for his belief that "so long as one village remains with its barricades intact, Spain will not be fascist."

On the jacket there is a blurb by a reviewer who writes, seemingly in praise, ". . . it is a disinterested book." This is not true. Do not be misled. Mr. Langdon-Davies is not disinterested. He is passionately interested. He is fighting mad. He is openly and honestly on the side of the people of Spain against their fascist oppressors. What the reviewer who called the book "disinterested" should have said, is what Mr. Langdon-Davies says himself, "I have not troubled to attempt propaganda because to me the truth is so clear that propaganda is not necessary." The truth and nothing but the truth should be enough to make observers of the tragedy of Spain sad and angry and militant and on their guard.

What are the author's truths about Spain? First, there are the familiar facts which we have already learned from other sources: that the uprising on July 18 was a minority rebellion of army officers and fascists against the legally elected democratic government of Spain; that in violation of international law, Germany, Italy, and Portugal have been aiding the rebels with arms and men; that without this illegal aid, Franco's followers would be defeated in short order; that any aid which Russia has furnished to the Spanish government is perfectly legal and according to previous international custom.

In addition, Mr. Langdon-Davies informs us of other facts less well known, e.g., that the loyalist government, which has been charged with "making war on the Catholic religion," has in its ranks the Basque country which is, "except for Navarre, the most truly Catholic region in Spain"; that the atrocity stories attributed to the government are in every case either wildly exaggerated or absolutely untrue—if anything, their opposite has been typical—the loyalists have been much too circumspect in their treatment of the enemy; that the aid of the fascist international of Germany, Italy, and Portugal was promised to Franco *before* the revolt took place; that German and Italian airplanes were helping the Spanish fascists *almost immediately* after the revolt took place—without this aid the revolt was obviously doomed to failure from the very beginning; that among the German citizens "evacuated" by German ships were refugees who had fled Germany and were being transported back against their will to be thrown into concentration camps.

Mr. Langdon-Davies is righteously indignant at the pro-fascist role played by the government of his own country, Great Britain. He emphasizes the danger to both England and France of a fascist victory. He is forthright in his denunciation of "the greatest crime against humanity that our generation has seen, the murder of the Spanish people." And he sounds a warning: we must learn and act quickly on the truth plain "to every peasant and worker in the south of France" from the very beginning, "that democracy was winning or losing a decisive battle, that it was not Spain's affair, but our own that was being settled one way or another."

LEO HUBERMAN.

* BEHIND THE SPANISH BARRICADES, *by John Langdon-Davies. Robert McBride & Co.* $2.75.

More Freudian Than Freud

POLITICS: WHO GETS WHAT, WHEN, HOW, *by Harold D. Lasswell. McGraw-Hill Book Co.* $2.50.

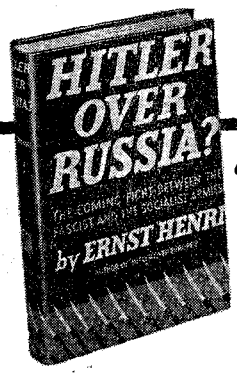
PROFESSOR LASSWELL continues his psychoanalytic thrillers. In this latest chapter of Freudian blood and thunder, we discover that fascism and communism are twin spawn of the petty-bourgeois revolution—both represent the coming to power of the petty bourgeoisie! We are kept in horrible suspense by the intimation that the next great revolutionary upheaval will come from the workers.

For the benefit of those who have not begun the Lasswellian serial, a brief synopsis of preceding chapters is in order. *Psychopathology and Politics* tells how we who fight capitalism are goaded on by an anti-father complex. *World Politics and Personal Insecurity* psychoanalyzes Marxism: we listen breathlessly as we hear that Marxism releases a terrific sense of guilt by projecting it upon the environment, that Marxism induces regression into the quiet and bliss of the womb by means of its dreams of the classless social heaven, that Marxism's scientific predilections trace

Workers' Rhythm

Painting by Rufino Tamayo (Julien Levy Gallery)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"ESSENTIAL READING FOR ANYONE WHO WISHES TO UNDERSTAND THE PROCESSES SHAPING THE WORLD TODAY"

—The Baltimore Sun

In this book, written not to frighten, but to warn, the author of *Hitler Over Europe* answers the question that overshadows the world of 1937. Will the next twelve months witness a fight to the finish between the forces of Fascism, led by Germany, and the forces of Socialism, led by Russia? Here is the documented, considered, relentless analysis of a brilliant political analyst. Price $2.50.

HITLER OVER RUSSIA?

The Coming Fight Between the Fascist and The Socialist Armies

BY ERNST HENRI

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, *Publishers,* 386 Fourth Avenue, New York City

NEW MASSES BENEFIT

PREVIEW of Theatre Union's

"MARCHING SONG"

A new play based on an industrial theme—the sit-down strike. A rich mural of American life depicting dramatically the strike's effect on an entire community.

By John Howard Lawson

Author of **Processional, Success Story, Gentlewoman**

MONDAY EVENING **FEB. 15th**

NORA BAYES THEATER
44th Street, West of B'way

Tickets: 45c—60c—75c—$1.00—$1.50

On sale at NEW MASSES, 31 East 27th Street, New York City. CAledonia 5-3076 (Mail and telephone orders filled).

NEW MASSES STUDIO PARTY

Saturday, February 6, 8:30 p.m.

STEINWAY HALL 113 West 57th St. Studio 503

JOHNNY RICKS ORCHESTRA

Entertainment Dancing Refreshments

(One of those intimate parties where everyone has a good time.)

Admission: Fifty Cents

backward to gratifications of sexual curiosity, that Marxian dogmatism is a defense mechanism against and refuge from external criticism. *Politics (where we are now)* rehashes previous chapters, cuts down somewhat on the dazzle of the Freudian jargon which has slain the reader, and takes us to the epic coming to power of the petty bourgeois.

"The study of politics is the study of influence and the influential." Political science considers the élite, how it monopolizes the available values of "deference, income, and safety," what use it makes of symbols. In plain Marxian language, this means studying the rise and fall of ruling-class cliques, their privileges, and their methodologies with particular emphasis on propaganda ("manipulation of symbols"). By following the lead of the author as political scientist, we remain perfectly objective and arrive at such supreme heights of scientific cynicism as this: "From the 'divine right of kings' to the 'rights of man,' from the 'rights of man' to the 'proletarian dictatorship'; these have been the principal vocabulary changes in the political history of the world. In each case a language of protest, long a utopian hope, became the language of an established order, an ideology. The ruling élite elicited loyalty, blood, and taxes with new combinations of vowels and consonants."

Elsewhere "political science" analyzes Soviet socialist construction as merely another instance of "élite preservation."

Radicalism, avers "political science," is an outcome of the inner psychological conflict of the individual. A leader "displaces private motives on public objects in the name of collective advantage." Thus: "When crises intensify in the direction of violence, uninhibited rage types find more social sanction for the discharge of their sadistic drives; inhibited rage types, relieved somewhat of retaliatory fear, give greater scope to their aggressive tendencies; healthily assertive types resort to ruthlessness, though less tinctured with overactive cruelty and vindictiveness."

The "political scientist" steps out of objective analysis to become advocate for the lesser bourgeoisie. Professor Lasswell regresses to the infantile period of capitalism and there fixates himself in fantasies of a utopia of petty producers and professionals. From a burlesque of Freud to a parody on Proudhon, so devolves the ego! ARTHUR S. JOHNSON.

Chekhov and Tolstoy

ANTON CHEKHOV: THE VOICE OF TWILIGHT RUSSIA, *by Princess Nina Andronikova Toumanova. Columbia University Press.* $3.
THE FINAL STRUGGLE, *being Countess Tolstoy's Diary for 1910. Oxford University Press.* $2.50.

CHEKHOV died in 1904, during the crushing defeats of Russia's army and navy at the hands of puny Japan. He did not live to see the aftermath of this disaster, the revolution of 1905. Tolstoy's death came in 1910, during the dull inter-revolutionary pe-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

riod, four years before Russia's more fatal war and its epochal aftermath, the revolutions of 1917. Thus both authors belonged to the "on the eve" Russia, to the twilight period of fatigue and nervous anticipation. Both of them mercilessly analyzed the existing order, and showed its decay and moribundity. Objectively, therefore, as critics of the bourgeois regime, they had (and still have) a profoundly revolutionizing influence upon their readers, regardless of time and place. Yet subjectively they presented will-less and socially passive individuals.

The Final Struggle is an amazing documentary revelation. The volume contains the practically undoctored diary of Countess Tolstoy during the last year of her husband's life, with here and there parallel entries from Tolstoy's own diaries, and illuminating letters and notes by other persons involved in the family drama. Perhaps only Russians can be so disconcertingly frank about themselves and others. Filial squeamishness prompted the Russian editor, Sergei Tolstoy, to delete words and passages in his mother's entries which he deemed "unfit for printing," but he has left enough to shock the genteel and astonish the uninitiated. For my own part, I have read practically every line by and about Tolstoy, including the two volumes of the countess's diaries published a few years ago. Yet, though familiar with all the available facts of the Tolstoy drama, I found myself time and again gasping for breath while reading the present volume. No Æschylus or Shakespeare has conceived of a deeper tragedy than that of a literary titan, a magnificent pagan, an exuberant mind, sinking into a morass of pettiness and pathology.

Her diaries show conclusively that the countess was afflicted with neurasthenia and paranoia. With the persistence of a maniac, she dogged and nagged her Leo, persecuted him with incredible fits of jealousy, with fantastic suspicions and insane accusations. By dint of sick spells, partly affected, threats of suicide, and hysterical scenes, she forced her husband to yield and compromise and inevitably to hide and mask his thoughts and actions. These deceptions she was quite aware of, to be sure, owing to her intelligence and morbid suspiciousness. Hence, fresh harangues and scenes, ever more vicious and sickening. Her hatred of Chertkov, Tolstoy's literary executor, led her to accuse the two of sexual intimacy—her husband was eighty-two and the other fifty-odd at the time. This and other fixed ideas she proceeded to harp upon ceaselessly, vociferously, both in her diary, and to her husband, children, and any one who happened to visit them. Throughout, she protested her passionate love for Leo. It was, indeed, the love of a tarantula for its victim.

For years Tolstoy bore the cross humbly, as a test of his moral integrity. Herein is the pathos of the tragedy. The dynamic artist became a passive moralist. His individualistic Christianity, with the doctrine of non-resistance as its cornerstone, sapped his creative force and paralyzed his will. A friendly peasant advised him to treat his wife as peasants treat their wenches—with a whip. But non-resistance! In a moment of "weakness," unable to endure the countess's petty persecution any longer, the old man fled at night from under the "roof of lies," and died a few days later at the little station of Astapovo (recently renamed Leo Tolstoy). While riding in a third-class car, he was recognized by the passengers and engaged by workmen and peasants in a lively conversation. Here, on the eve of his death, he had a taste of the joy of communion with real people. If he had only obeyed the "weak" impulse years before! What limitless possibilities one may imagine—Tolstoy, cured of his moralistic anæmia, using his fierce honesty and sense of justice dynamically, as a leader of the masses. . . .

There has been no need of a monumental biography of Chekhov, because his personal life was drab and uneventful. The facts of his life, conscientiously garnered by Princess Andronikova Toumanova from well-known and quite available secondary sources, could be told in a couple of pages. To fill two hundred-odd pages, the author has drawn out the biographical data and padded them with reflections, observations, comparisons, references, footnotes, and other features of an American M.A. or Ph.D. thesis. This part of the book is decidedly inadequate. Totally lacking in critical acumen or social vision, the author has tried to compensate by conscientious laboriousness and by forced comparisons with numerous other authors. In presenting the literary and social background the author makes such gross errors that one sometimes suspects that her *naïveté* is of the tongue-in-cheek-Gracie-Allen variety. She has read many, too many books, and has digested them rather poorly. Three times she repeats her funny assertion that Nietzsche and Soloviev, coupled, influenced Russian society, and just as often she insinuated that the critic Mikhaylovsky had a personal grudge against Chekhov; once she informs us that in the middle of the nineties Lenin "was beginning his career as a newspaperman." Her Russian transliterations are confusing enough, but when, citing a Soviet biographer, she tells us that young Chekhov read "Bocle," we are hard put to it to surmise that she means Buckle. More seriously misleading is her sentimental glorification of Suvorin, Russia's miniature Hearst.

In her critical appraisals, one hears the echo of a score of critics, inadequately blended, emasculated of their individuality and sharpness. She uses the vague and languid style of prewar Russian *salons,* employing many words to say nothing. Thus she says of *Three Sisters,* comparing it with Chekhov's former plays: "It has the same curious, moonlike strangeness, and in its dim and hazy atmosphere you can hear the faint sound of a distant æolian harp." (No, it is no hoax: page 184.) In the same way she rhapsodizes about the beautiful Russian melancholy (Gorky thought that there was nothing beautiful about it: "We were squeezed, so we squeaked!"). She is fond of sweet adjectives: "beautiful tales," "exquisite magazines," but especially "charming." Pro-

"Waiting" By Raphael Soyer

Genuine, Signed, Original

ETCHINGS

of Museum Quality

Works Like These Regularly Sell for $18, $36 and UP . . .

FIFTY-FIVE of America's foremost artists have agreed to permit a *limited sale* of their personally signed, original etchings and lithographs at only $5 each—as part of the new nation-wide art program. The offering includes genuine, signed originals by such famous artists as Thomas Benton, George Elmer Browne, John Steuart Curry, Luigi Lucioni, Louis Lozowick, Philip Kappel, John Costigan and Raphael Soyer—men whose signatures on some works of art are valued at hundreds, even thousands of dollars. Many of the originals here offered would regularly sell in the galleries for many times this remarkably low price!

***Now Only* $5 EACH!**

Includes Five Prize-Winners

EVERY WORK is guaranteed perfect, and is in strictly limited edition, after which the plates are destroyed. In some cases the etching is so delicate that editions are limited to far less than a hundred original prints. These are not small originals. Plate sizes average 8 by 11 inches. Mat sizes average 14 by 18 inches. This is the same group from which more than a score of museums have obtained works for their permanent collections. In addition to five prize-winners, four in this new group have just been selected by America's leading art critics as among the "Outstanding Prints of the Year."

Many Already Doubled in Value

A SURVEY indicates that many originals have already more than doubled in value (some even tripled) because of the unprecedented demand, which quickly exhausts editions. We suggest that you act promptly in order to give yourself the broadest selection.

Send for Free Illustrated Catalogue

AN INTERESTING CATALOGUE has been prepared, illustrating the works available, and containing biographical data on each artist's career and awards. Send only 10c in stamps to cover mailing costs, and a copy will be sent to you at once. Through our special mail order service you can select the originals you wish at home. All selections are shipped with the understanding that your money will gladly be refunded if not delighted in every way. Address:

ASSOCIATED AMERICAN ARTISTS
Studio 502, 420 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

10,000 BOOKS

MUST GO!

Clearance Sale

JAN. 28th—FEB. 13th

TAKE YOUR PICK—YOU WILL FIND SUCH AUTHORS AS JACK CONROY, JOSHUA KUNITZ, ANDRE MALRAUX, V. I. LENIN, WM. Z. FOSTER, GRACE LUMPKIN, MIRSKY, SHOLOKHOV, AND OTHERS TO CHOOSE FROM. THESE BOOKS FORMERLY SOLD FROM $1.50 TO $3.00

PRICES NOW

19c or 3 for 50c

29c or 3 for 79c

39c or 3 for $1.09

47c or 3 for $1.29

69c or 3 for $1.65

WORKERS BOOKSHOP, 50 East 13th Street

PEOPLES BOOKSHOP
140—2nd Avenue

BROWNSVILLE BOOKSHOP
369 Sutter Avenue, Brooklyn

HARLEM PEOPLES BOOKSHOP
115 West 135th Street

No Mail Orders Accepted or Refunds Made

HOW CAN YOU TELL

how much NEW MASSES might mean to you if this is the first copy you have read?

Send $1.00 for a 12-Week TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION

NEW MASSES, 31 East 27th Street, New York City.

I enclose $1, for which please send me New Masses for 12 weeks, on your Trial Subscription Offer.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... *State*.....

Occupation .....

No agent's commission on this special offer

fessor Vasiliev, a noted Byzantine scholar, for some reason wrote a foreword in which he enlarges on the author's aristocratic ancestry, and tells us that this is "a charming" book about "the charming figure of Chekhov." That is the keynote: charming. The princess traveled a lot and picked up "some charming bits" about Chekhov from compatriots. Twice she refers to the bitter writer Garshin as "charming," and she uses the same word for the huge, corpulent Professor M. Kovalevsky. Incidentally she speaks of the latter's "ultra-radical ideas"; Kovalevsky stood considerably to the right of such liberals as Milyukov. Russia "charmed" the world with "Katinka" and the "Wooden Soldiers"; the ailing Chekhov, with his "charming traits," went to "charming" Yalta, married "charming Olga Knipper."

The author is representative of that futile Russia which Chekhov pilloried in his stories and plays, particularly in his last play, *The Cherry Orchard*. He foresaw the passing of the Ranevsky gentry, and the replacement of the sentimental "garden" dreamers by a toiling, forward-looking generation. Princess Toumanova tells us that today the Ranevskys "sell dresses in the shops of the Champs Elysées or Fifth Avenue." Or, we may add, concoct "charming" biographies.

ALEXANDRE DERORE.

"Where the hormones . . ."

ROMANTIC ADVENTURE: *Being the Autobiography of Elinor Glyn. E. P. Dutton & Co.* $3.50.

THE chief aim of Elinor Glyn's life, she confesses, has been the glorification of romance. She has gone all over the world like a fairy godmother, dispensing romance practically at cost. She admits that she brought glamour to the benighted capitals of Europe, scoring a conspicuous success in the imperial court of Russia, where everyone loved her warmly and where "there was a singular lack of hypocrisy about the whole society that was delightful." *Three Weeks* had convinced the imperial court that Madame Glyn wrote superbly of the Russian character. They probably liked her even better than Dostoevski or Tolstoy. The book also struck a spark in America, and its author followed it up with a personal visit, the object of which was "to stir in the cold hearts of thousands of little fluffy, gold-digging American girls a desire for greater joys in love than are to be found in candy-boxes and car rides and fur coats . . . a desire to give as well as to receive." One gets the uneasy suspicion that they were getting discontented over the dearth of fur coats among the working classes, but Madame Glyn fixed that. She gave the "fluffy gold-diggers" Rudolph Valentino and Clara Bow, whom she apparently fashioned out of clay by her own hand, according to her account. She will also have us understand that it was she who gave American movies their Continental suavity; when she first arrived, they were still, heaven help us, putting aspidistra in English drawing-rooms, a reprehensible affront to British blue blood.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Madame, pure apostle of romance that she is, was always being forced into strange situations with gentlemen. Once in Russia she was caught in a sleigh in a snowstorm, and, "Needless to say, my companion found it necessary to keep me safe and warm by clasping me in his arms. . . . I was utterly too exhausted to care what I did, and [the madcap!] I fell fast asleep on his shoulder." All this is hot stuff, of course, and it's perfectly respectable, too, because there is always a husband in the offing, and the requirements of bourgeois morality are met at the same time Elinor's hormones go pounding through her fine blue blood.

But great romantic though she is, her real forte is social philosophy, and she has the answer to everything. Starting with what she learned from her "dear little old grandmother" who taught her that there are "great differences between the upper and lower ranks of society, and . . . there could be no mixing in a social way" and that "one must never demean gentle blood," Madame Glyn traveled her glorious path in search of romance, and now announces that it is about to burst on the world as never before. Throwing over the "insipid £400-a-year Socialist heaven-on-earth," she believes that romance itself is all we need, and "The best things in life are free." She confesses that the choice "between the continued enslavement of the poor and the total destruction of all which makes life beautiful and gracious has hung over me for many years." But, thank God, "the basis of the terrible, cramping economic theory out of which it was born has long since been shattered by [this'll kill you] Henry Ford"!

Well, "the moral of this little allegory [sic] is that if mankind would only recognize that material wealth springs from the qualities of the human mind and heart and soul, and is quite independent of physical appearances and limitations, the world would quickly become a richer and happier place." Madame Glyn closes her book with the announcement that she has made the most romantic of all discoveries: "God's in His Heaven—all's right with the world!" It would be pedantic to point out that a Mr. Browning made that discovery some years ago, and not much ever came of it.

DONALD B. ELDER.

Brief Reviews

RETURN TO MALAYA, *by R. H. Bruce Lockhart, G. P. Putnam's Sons.* $3.00.

Mr. Lockhart's three years in the back country of British Malaya some thirty years ago hardly seem to qualify him, as it does in his own eyes, as an expert on the Far East in general and Malaya in particular. His "return" is nothing more than the pseudo-romantic gesture of an author who has written one succesful book (*British Agent*) and is under contract to write a second.

The first part of the volume deals with British Malaya and the Malayan states under British protection; the rest with the Dutch East Indies, those rich islands which support the royal house of Holland and Dutch imperialism. If the author is to be believed, the British maintained their rule by dressing for dinner and teaching the natives to play soccer, but "the Dutch had to fight their way in nearly all the islands." The world war, the depres-

WHICH OF 10 FAMOUS MAKES OF MEN'S SUITS are *Best Buys!*

ALMOST all ready-made clothing looks all right—when you buy it—but the man who is interested in saving money has to know more about a suit of clothes than what is apparent at the time of purchase. Textile experts working under the direction of Consumers Union, took apart representative suits made by 10 nationally known manufacturers (including Bond, Howard, Crawford, and Hart, Schaffner & Marx); tested the fabrics and linings; examined the workmanship in minute detail, and analyzed the other factors that mean long wear and satisfactory service. The results are published in the current issue of *Consumers Union Reports*, the monthly publication of a non-profit, nationwide organization of consumers interested in getting the most for their money. This report on suits will tell you how much you should pay and what you should look for when you are buying a ready-made suit of clothes. It rates the different brands, *by name*, as "Best Buys," "Also Acceptable," and "Not Acceptable." Another report in the same issue tells which of 16 leading brands of men's hose tested are most likely to wear longest.

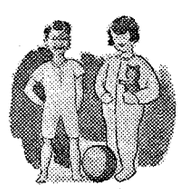
How CONSUMERS UNION REPORTS *save you money*

Consumers Union Reports—telling you which brands of shoes tested will wear longest, which tires will give the most mileage per dollar, which automobiles and radios are the "best buys," and which brands of other products are the best values—can save you money and help you to buy intelligently. These *Reports*—rating products *by name* as "Best Buys," "Also Acceptable," and "Not Acceptable"—are published by Consumers Union of United States, a nationwide organization of consumers whose chief purpose is to make accurate information about products—based on research by competent and unbiased technicians—available to its members at the lowest possible cost. Information on the labor conditions under which many products are made is also given in the *Reports*.

Also in the Current Issue of
CONSUMERS UNION REPORTS

COLD REMEDIES

Hundreds of proprietary articles—ranging from gargles, inhalants, cough drops and ointments to pills, powders, syrups and "scientifically" formulated internal medicines—are being offered today as "remedies" or "cures" for colds. Which, if any, will do what is claimed for them? Are any of them capable of causing serious harm? These questions are answered in the current issue with lists of specific products.



CHILDREN'S UNDERGARMENTS

Tested and examined by Consumers Union experts, 12 leading brands of children's cotton underwear are rated in the current issue as "Best Buys," "Also Acceptable," and "Not Acceptable." This report gives the opinions of child specialists on the comparative merits of cotton vs. wool underwear, and describes the features which are desirable in children's undergarments. Leading brands of children's sleeping garments are also rated.

SHAVING CREAMS

Over 30 different brands of shaving creams (both the brush and brushless types) and shaving soaps were tested for Consumers Union members. Some of these brands will meet your shaving requirements for a year for as little as 15c—others will cost you ten to twenty times as much. If you want to economize on your shaving bill read this report.

Also discussed in the January **Reports** are MAPLE SYRUPS, FLOURS, and other products All products are rated by brand name.

Incorporated under the laws of New York State as a strictly non-profit organization, Consumers Union is sponsored by many prominent scientists, educators, journalists, labor and progressive leaders. Professor Colston E. Warne, of Amherst, is president of Consumers Union, Arthur Kallet, co-author of *100,000,000 Guinea Pigs*, is director and D. H. Palmer, physicist, is technical supervisor. The membership of Consumers Union has grown in less than a year to more than 25,000—and is increasing, at the present time, at the rate of nearly 1,000 new members a week.

If you, too, want to make sure that you are getting the most for your money fill out and mail the membership application below—checking the month with which you wish your membership to begin. The fee—which entitles you to a YEARLY BUYING GUIDE now in preparation as well as to a year's subscription to the *Reports*—is only $3 a year—($1 a year for the abridged edition covering only the less expensive types of products). The *Reports*, beginning from the month checked will immediately be sent to you.

Principal subjects covered in past issues were: **MAY**—Soaps, Milk, Cereals; **JUNE**—Automobiles, Gasolines; **JULY**—Refrigerators, Used Cars, Motor Oils; **AUG.**—Oil Burners, Bread, Hosiery; **SEPT.**—Shoes, Tires, Whiskies; **OCT.**—Shirts, Gins, Dentifrices; **NOV.**—1937 Autos, Radios, Wines; **DEC.**—Vacuum Cleaners, Nose Drops, Fountain Pens; **JAN.**—Men's Shirts, Children's Undergarments.

To: CONSUMERS UNION of U. S., Inc.,
55 Vandam Street, New York, N. Y.

I hereby apply for membership in Consumers Union. I enclose:
☐ $3 for one year's membership, $2.50 of which is for a year's subscription to the complete edition of **Consumers Union Reports.**

☐ $1 for one year's membership, 50c of which is for a year's subscription to the abridged edition of **Consumers Union Reports.** (Note: Reports on higher-priced products are not in this edition.)

I agree to keep confidential all material sent to me which is so designated.

Please begin my membership with the ..... issue.

Signature.....

Address.....

City and State.....

Occupation..... M F

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A New Artef Production

CHAINS

by H. LEIVICK — *Settings by* MOI SOLOTAROFF

Directed by JOSEPH BULOFF — *Music by* BEN YOMEN

every night except Mondays
Matinees: Saturday and Sunday at 2:45
Prices: 50c, 75c, $1.00, $1.50

"200,000"

Saturday & Sunday Nights *only* at 8:50

ARTEF THEATRE
247 West 48th Street, N. Y. C., CH 4-7157

3 BIG HITS

"YOUTH OF MAXIM"
feature-length masterpiece from u.s.s.r

"TREASURER'S REPORT"
robt. benchley's laugh sensation

"MILLIONS OF US"
semi-suppressed labor short

It's Only 49c

Sunday—JANUARY 31—3 P. M.

HOTEL PENNSYLVANIA
33rd Street at Seventh Avenue

Tickets: Workers Bookshop, 50 E. 13th St. and Henri Barbusse Memorial Committee 268 Fourth Ave. Room 705
or at the door on Sun., Jan. 31
Auspices: Henri Barbusse Memorial Committee

RUN DOWN?
ATHLETE'S FOOT?
LOSING YOUR HAIR?
Here Is the Cure-All!

THE 4TH ANNUAL
ENTERTAINMENT ...and DANCE...

PHARMACIST'S UNION OF GREATER NEW YORK
219 Seventh Ave., New York

ROGER SMITH BALLROOM
Forty-First Street & Madison Ave.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 13
DANCING FROM 9 P. M. TO 4 A. M.
SUBSCRIPTION ONE DOLLAR

GOOD FOOD
GOOD SERVICE
RESTFUL ATMOSPHERE

Cost no more than in the cash and carry non-union restaurants.
Fresh vegetables—fruits—dairy products fish and health foods. Enjoy natural foods as nature intended.

LUNCHEON: 40c DINNER: 60c
Also a la Carte

FARMFOOD
VEGETARIAN RESTAURANTS
37 West 32nd Street 104 West 40th Street
* 142 West 49th Street
* After theatre snacks. Open Sundays.

sion, education, and the infiltration of the Chinese are the factors in the rising nationalism that is particularly strong in the Dutch possessions. Younger colonial-office civil servants now wear shorts with consequent loss of dignity, and Dutch administrators, legally married to native women, have been compelled to give their own offspring positions of responsibility in the government of the islands.

The results do not please Mr. Lockhart. After 350 pages he realizes that "between the East and the West there is a gulf," and without trying to be too exact, gives imperialism only another twenty-five years in the Far East—a rather dismal outlook for a professional British agent. R. M.

5 DAYS, *by Boris Todrin. Black Cat Press. Chicago.* $1.25.

The rebellion of the heroic Austrian workers in February 1934, the consequent slaughter and defeat due to the weak, procrastinating, and reactionary tactics of the Social Democratic Party of that country, which failed utterly to prepare the proletariat for such an event, is the basis for Boris Todrin's narrative poem. While Todrin does not lay the finger of blame on the party, and while he is content merely to give a complete picture of the action of the group and individual courage of the besieged workers, "The twelve who corked the doorway with their lives," the chaos and lack of directive leadership that was responsible for unnecessary slaughter of so many workers is inherently a part of this poem. It shows through every passage. Mr. Todrin is a remarkable young poet with a keen insight and a sense of great unity. That his imagery is overburdened and his descriptions overrun the mark, is but an indication that he has not yet achieved poetic maturity. This book, however, can stand as a memorial for those courageous and visionary workers who fought for liberation. JOSEPH SCHER.

THE COUNTRY WIFE, *by William Wycherley. Random House.* $1.

The present edition of Wycherley's ancient and bawdy trifle, long a favorite with college drama societies, is to celebrate the play's current appearance on Broadway. It is "the original text, complete and unexpurgated"—a neat and inexpensive little volume in Random House's best style. As for the play itself, the less said of that the better. Product of a peculiarly deadly period, that artificial interlude (called the Restoration) between the two great English revolutions of the seventeenth century, *The Country Wife* revels in tiresome allusions to cuckolds and social diseases; in a purely verbal brand of wit which is at best rather brittle; and in a disdain for the realities which is appalling. F. W. D.

★

Recently Recommended Books

The New Soviet Constitution, by Joseph Stalin. International. 2c.

Hitler Over Russia?, by Ernst Henri. Translated by Michael Davidson. Simon & Schuster. $2.50.

A Book of Contemporary Short Stories, by Dorothy Brewster, Ph.D., with an Appendix on Writing the Short Story, by Lillian Barnard Gilkes. Macmillan. $3.50.

History of Florence from the Founding of the City Through the Renaissance, by Ferdinand Schevill. Harcourt, Brace. $5.

Selected Writings, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. International. $2.25.

The Glittering Century, by Phillips Russell. Scribner's. $3.50.

The Crisis in the Socialist Party, by William Z. Foster. Workers Library Publishers. 5c.

Landlord and Peasant in China, by Chen Han-Seng. International. $2.

Nursery School and Parent Education in Soviet Russia, by Vera Fediaevsky and Patty Smith Hill. Dutton. $2.50.

The Theory and Practice of Socialism, by John Strachey. Random House. $3.

SYMPHONY SHOP
251 W. 42nd St., N. Y. C. WI 7-8134
"THE HOME OF BARGAIN RECORDS"
Free delivery in N. Y. C. Mail orders shipped promptly
While They Last
Victor and Columbia Masterwork Records
Symphonic and Chamber
BACH—BEETHOVEN—BRAHMS—WAGNER
HAYDN—MOZART
UP TO **50% DISCOUNT**
We carry ANSLEY—MAGNOVOX—EMERSON
PHONOGRAPH AND RADIO COMBINATIONS
A.C.-D.C.-current
Come in and hear them today
Send for Free Catalog *Open Evenings*

"Trotskyism—A Social Menace"
hear
CLARENCE HATHAWAY
Editor, Daily Worker
at the
BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC
30 Lafayette Avenue Near Flatbush Avenue
on
MONDAY — 8:15 P. M.
FEBRUARY 8, 1937
Questions from Floor
Auspices: Professional Guild of America
Admission: 25c & 39c, with stub

Register Now—New Term

Day, evening, week-end classes. Life, painting, sculpture, graphic arts, mural workshop. Individual instruction. Tuition, $3 a month and up. Write or phone for catalog.

American Artists School
131 West 14th St., N.Y.C. CHelsea 3-9621

Interesting "Methods and Materials" Exhibit, showing steps in various art processes, at School Gallery through February 5.

FEDERATION DU FRONT POPULAIRE
Concert & Dance
with
RADIO STARS & Vernon Griffiths' Orchestra CLUB VALHALLA
THIS SATURDAY—JANUARY 30
from 9 P. M. to 2:30 A. M.
HOTEL CLARIDGE
Broadway and 44th St.
Tickets: 55c in advance 75c at the door
148 West 46th Street, New York City

SCOTTSBORO—HERNDON BALL
FRIDAY FEB. 12th (Lincoln's Birth'y)
SAVOY BALLROOM 140th Street And Lenox Ave.
Adm. 75c ● Get Tickets Today at 156 Fifth Avenue, Room 534.
Auspices: Nat. Comm. for the Defense of Political Prisoners

3rd CAPACITY WEEK!
ETERNAL MASK
"Ordinary Superlatives Are Ridiculous."—Times.
Filmarte... 58th Street West of 7th Ave.
Continuous from 1 P. M., 25c to 2 P. M.

U. S. S. R.: Social and Economic Structure.
FIFTEEN WEDNESDAY NIGHT LECTURES
by MARY R. M. GRIFFITHS
Beginning FEBRUARY 3—8:20 P. M.
THE NEW SCHOOL, 66 W. 12th Street
Course: $12.50 Single lecture: $1.00
Catalogue on request.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

Two dance recitals—The British contribute some films—Revivals by W.P.A. and Artef

DORIS HUMPHREY'S *With My Red Fires,* for which Wallingford Riegger wrote the music, is the middle theme of her trilogy on the "relationship of man to man." The first and third sections of the work, *Theater Piece* and *New Dance,* were presented last year, the first described as a "dance of experience in a place of conflict and competition"; the second representing "the growth of the individual in relation to his fellows in an ideal state." In context, dealing with "the relationship of man to woman," *With My Red Fires* may have a validity; presented as an integrated composition, it is a pretty much vitiated choreographic study of young love's revolt against the Matriarch. And whatever validity the theme may have had for the audience of 5000 that packed the Hippodrome for the International Labor Defense, the abstract treatment of the abstract ideas involved rendered the work rather bloodless. Except for the Blake-like figures in the "Judgment" movement, the choreography was not especially brilliant and the pantomime rather poor.

As the middle section of the larger trilogy, *With My Red Fires* adds nothing, ideologically, to what has already been said in *Theater Piece* and *New Dance.* At most it is an elaboration, and not a particularly good one, on some one of the themes from *Theater Piece* ("dance of experience in a place of conflict and competition"). And choreographically, certainly in no part does it measure up to the excitingly climactic "Celebration" and "Variations and Conclusion" of *New Dance;* nor has it any of the wit or satire of *Theater Piece.*

The new composition may be chalked up to Doris Humphrey's long preoccupation with the "relation of man to woman"; *With My Red Fires* carries her particular abstract treatment of the theme to its logical conclusion. And for all the extensive program notes and all the sub-titles from "Hymn to Priapus" down through "Coercion and Escape," "Alarm: Pursuit" to the final "Judgment," the work is as empty as any theatrical abstraction must prove in its final analysis.

Quest, Charles Weidman's composition for which Norman Lloyd and Clair Leonard wrote the music, is better. The *Quest* is for an integration, and the artist, after a varied experience with patronage, *"Kulturreinigung,"* and the war's "Pro Patria," turns to the "masses of mankind," discovers and affirms his "oneness" with them.

Leaning heavily on pantomime (Weidman labels the composition "a choreographic pantomime"), the choreography moves through familiar scenes, familiar figures, takes its poke at Herr Hitler and, except for the intermittent conferences between the artist (Weidman) and his "inner self" (Humphrey), the work is a perfectly intelligible satire on the contemporary scene with a "conversion" climax.

There is much in the program notes that is not quite discernible in the choreography; the composition is hurried towards its climax, and the artist's discovery of the masses, depending more on his "inner self" than on the material conflicts, comes more like an afterthought than a logical development of the composition. Actually, ideologically and choreographically, the "inner spirit" is the major fault of the work. It adds no particular choreographic strength to the composition; rather, it interferes with the movement, offers a sort of haven from reality, and allows for an over-balanced and without-much-purpose offstage activity. The flow of the work is crippled, and the climax subsequently weakened if not distorted. The "Regimentation" movement, the *"Kulturreinigung"* movement, and especially the war movement, "Pro Patria," have a strength and a conviction that pave a generous way for the "Affirmation." The mirrors and alter egos that have long been associated with the Humphrey-Weidman school might well be discarded. They have cluttered their studios and their compositions much too long.

A fresh note in the dance season was the first concert of the New Dance Group of the New Dance League. Young dancers, the mark of the Graham school, the Wigman school, etc., still with them, they have an awareness and a vitality that more than compensates whatever crudities of technique in composition crop up in an evening's concert; as to technique in performance, there are few dancers who possess the developing knowledge and facility of movement of its leaders, Miriam Blecher and Jane Dudley.

The group itself, of course, is limited. Its performance lacks the polish of the Humphrey-Weidman, Graham, or Tamiris groups, but it has a conviction that is more exciting than all the virtuosity of a crop of premiere ballerinas. Nor is their work concerned vaguely with nebulous abstractions, but rather with the substance of *The Village Without Men* (in the Third Reich) for which Anton Refregier did two excellent sets, *Ma Body's No Carcass, Letter to the President,* and the Scottsboro Boys' *Death House Blues* for which Simon Rady sings:

> White workin' man goin' to set them free,
> Black workin' man goin' to set them free,
> All workin' man goin' to set them free,
> Working man and the I.L.D.

Robert Joyce

There is nothing precious about these dances; there is no hiding behind skirts. The material is direct, without equivocation, clear, and pointed. Words, music, décor, satiric sketches, or dances of protest, this is dancing that moves out to the people understandingly and understandable. OWEN BURKE.

THE SCREEN

TOO bad that D. W. Griffith wasn't able to go through with the remaking of *Broken Blossoms* (Imperial Pictures, Ltd.), if it had to be remade at all, and it is difficult to understand why the producers went through with the production after they failed to do anything with Griffith. The story is incredibly old-fashioned and unbelievable in this age, anyway. At any rate, film historians have created a legend around this film, which has been called one of the "great love stories of all time." Unfortunately, the current edition, directed by Hans Brahm, is only a sadistic tear-jerker.

Through the courtesy of the Museum of Modern Art Film Library, I was able to refresh my memory of the original Griffith *Broken Blossoms* which starred Lillian Gish as the Girl, Richard Barthelmess as the Yellow Man, and Donald Crisp (who can now be seen in *Beloved Enemy*) as Battling Burroughs. And what a treat it was! Although this little story about the futile love of the poor little slum waif for the disillusioned Buddhist missionary is fragile dramatic material, Griffith endowed the film with his impressive humanistic approach and technical acumen. Not only is it brilliantly and sensitively photographed, but is directed with sincerity and firmness. Although the film was released in 1919, it was made during the period of the World War. One can understand why this eloquent and idealistic plea for tolerance, kindness, for international good will, made such an impression on the post-war world.

Although the sound version follows the line of the silent version, it has a different set of values. It is surprisingly more mystical and annoying in its gaudy conception of the Buddhist temple. Whereas Griffith was content to tell his story simply, Mr. Brahm stoops to mechanical symbolism. While Griffith and his photographer Billy Bitzer strengthened their film with effective and realistic photography, the sound version of *Broken Blossoms* suffers from an overdose of soft focus and bad

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MALCOLM COWLEY

Editor of The New Republic and author of *Exile's Return,* Chairman.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Author of *I Change Worlds,* just arrived from the Soviet Union and from Spain will discuss the **People's Front in Spain.**

William Sanderson

ROBERT MINOR

Member of the Central Committee, Communist Party, U.S.A., who covered the Madrid front for the *Daily Worker,* will speak on **American Neutrality and Spain.**

RALPH BATES

English writer, author of *Lean Men, The Olive Field,* recently arrived from active service in Spain will present a participant's account of the **Civil War in Spain.**

Wednesday, 8:30 P. M.
FEBRUARY 10th
MECCA AUDITORIUM
133 West 55th Street

Sponsored by The New Masses and American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy

Reserved Seats: 35c, 55c, 83c, $1.10, $1.65

Tickets on sale at: New Masses (orders by mail and phone filled, CAledonia 5-3076) 31 East 27th St.; American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy (orders by mail and phone filled, LExington 2-5039), 31 East 27th St.; Columbia Bookstore, 2960 Broadway; Putnam Bookstore, 2 West 45th St.; Chelsea Bookshop, 58 West 8th St.; Workers and People's Bookshops, 50 E. 13th St.; 140 Second Ave.; 115 West 135th St.; 218 East 84th St., New York City; in the Bronx at 1001 Prospect Ave., and 2067 Jerome Ave.; in Brooklyn at 369 Sutter Ave.; 61 Willoughby St.; 220 Utica Ave.; 4531 16th Ave.; 6507 Bay Parkway, Brighton 6th St., (on the boardwalk).

SPAIN in DEFENSE of FREEDOM

miniatures. Only Dolly Haas comes through with honors. She is better than Lillian Gish, and a strong dramatic actress. She is now in Hollywood, under contract to Columbia. In spite of the lengthy foreword to the film, the new *Broken Blossoms* is definitely not a fitting tribute to D. W. Griffith.

It seems that the English aren't doing very well lately. In spite of the big names—Miriam Hopkins, Gertrude Lawrence, and Sebastian Shaw in the cast and a scenario by the English novelist G. B. Stern—*Men Are Not Gods* (United Artists) is really Alexander Korda's first "quickie." Not only is the plot impossible and incredible, but the film is first whimsy, then serious "drama," and at last phony melodrama. The title is from a line in Shakespeare's *Othello,* which plays an important part in this film.

The current *March of Time* covers two subjects: a reënactment (not too convincing) of the plight of underpaid working girls in the big city, who are lured there by gyp employment agencies, and a glorification of Chiang Kai-shek, which gives the editors of *Time* and *Life* (they both sponsor this picture news feature) a chance to refer to "Communist rabble." If the editors devoted as much thinking to improving the *March of Time* cinematically as they do to making nasty cracks about Chinese Communists or the French Popular Front, they would perform a real function.

PETER ELLIS.

THE THEATER

TWO recent productions of the W.P.A. federal theater in New York reaffirm the vitality and range of that organization. In Christopher Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* and in Conrad Seiler's *Sweet Man,* two extremes in drama seem to have been reached, and both with credit.

Dr. Faustus, produced by Project 891 under the direction of Orson Welles, brings to vigorous life a play whose 1589 birthdate might seem to have placed it beyond hope of effective resurrection. Staged with a shrewd economy of sets and lighting, Kit Marlowe's sketchy episodic reworking of the legend of the German doctor who sold his soul to the devil in exchange for knowledge carries a definiteness and impact that are all that one could ask. The poetry of Marlowe's lines comes to full flower in the seasoned eloquence of Mr. Welles, who plays the title role, and the whole effect of the production, while retaining the authentic savor of the early Elizabethan stage, is to bring the "tragical history" before us as a story charged with meaning for our modern minds. That meaning may not have much stature today except in a certain high symbolic sense, but it has a place in the herita e of our culture to which the present production does full justice. The variety of mood with which the play has been infused, carries the fancy expectantly from scene to scene, and in the Vatican episode, where the pope is subjected to several indignities by the invisible prankish doctor, the struggle against Rome which Henry VIII had

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HEAR
ALABAMA VIGILANTEISM EXPOSED!
through the
LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee
By PROFESSOR JOSEPH B. GELDERS
(formerly of the University of Alabama)
Chairman: Edward Kuntz, Counsel, International Labor Defense
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 1st, 8:30 P. M.
American Peoples Center 308 West 59th Street
Auspices: Walt Whitman Branch I. W. O. Admission: 15c

The Why and Wherefore of
SURREALISM SYMPOSIUM & DISCUSSION
Thursday Evening—FEBRUARY 4—8:30 P. M.
104 WEST 39th STREET (Near Sixth Avenue) LABOR STAGE
Speakers: MEYER SHAPIRO, JULIEN LEVY, MARGARET DANIELS, Ph.D., Psychologist, RALPH PEARSON, Chairman.
Admission: 50c—With Artists' Union Card: 35c
Tickets at door, or phone: STuyvesant 9-1288
Auspices: Artists' Union of New York

REBECCA SILVER Invites you to
FOREST HOUSE at INTERLAKEN on Lake Mahopac
most picturesque spot in Putnam County. Excellent Cuisine. Tennis, Golf. 50 miles from N. Y. Special LOW rates for weekly guests.
LAKE MAHOPAC, N. Y. Mahopac, 688 or 977

CAMP NITGEDAIGET
BEACON, N. Y.
ALL SPORTS EXCELLENT FOOD
HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS
$16 per week
Cars leave daily from 2700 Bronx Park East.
For all information call ESTabrook 8-1400.

WINTER VACATION AT
HOTEL ROYALE
Proletarian Comraderie
708 Princeton Ave. Telephone:
Lakewood, N. J. Lakewood 1146
Favorable rates to New Masses Readers
Inquiries solicited.
SONIA GELBAUM ANNA BROUDE

Enjoy a true comradely atmosphere at
RAVEN LODGE
416 Third Street Tel.: Lakewood 922
Lakewood, N. J. City Information Sk. 4-1596
Special rates to NEW MASSES Readers
CELIA BOOBAR I. GOLD

Closed for the month of January.
Will re-open February 10th.
BLUE MOUNTAIN LODGE
PEEKSKILL N. Y.
Make your reservations NOW for either or both holiday weekends:
LINCOLN'S (Feb. 12-14) ● WASHINGTON'S (Feb. 20-22)
Look us up when (and if) you get down to Miami this winter . . . ZEVIN VILLA, where the same friendly BML spirit prevails. Rates on request.
447—16th Street ● MIAMI BEACH.

TREASURE ISLAND
— PLANTATION —
A unique resort in the beautiful mountain country of Puerto Rico. Exceptional facilities for quiet study and outdoor recreation: tennis, riding, swimming, etc. Good food. Pineapples, citrus fruits, and fresh vegetables in abundance from the same plantations. Individual cabins with modern facilities. Moderate rates. Glorious climate from January to August.
● ●
FOR INFORMATION WRITE
BOX 103, CIDRA, PUERTO RICO.

PAUL CROSBIE
INSURANCE
Since 1908 *Frequent Savings*
135 WILLIAM STREET BEekman 3-5262

precipitated is reflected in satire which, while in high good humor, nevertheless retains a savage bite. The whole enterprise is one which can be unreservedly recommended.

Sweet Land is a direct and passionate statement of the oppression of the Negro people in the Deep South, with special reference to the lot of the sharecroppers. Chet Jackson and Sam Tucker return from the world war to what they hope is some sort of reward for helping save the world for democracy. Finding things unchanged, Chet goes back to his cropper's cabin and resumes his old life of quiet resignation. But Sam ranges around the country, becomes a member of the Pullman porters' union, and then, unemployed, goes south and visits his comrade of war days. He finds Chet out of sympathy with the rising rebelliousness of his fellow croppers on the Neil plantation, and taking the view that it doesn't do any good to go against the white boss. But the sharecroppers' union keeps on growing, and even Chet's wife sides with them against him. When the union organizer arrives, Chet's cabin, because it would be least suspect, is chosen for the meeting. The Klan raids the meeting, shoots Chet's wife, and hangs Sam, who is regarded as the ringleader. This teaches Chet his lesson, a lesson expressed in the lines, "I didn't know why we fought in the last war, Buddy, but I know why we're fighting in this one. It's to make this a sweet land." In producing this play, the Youth Unit of the W.P.A. federal Negro theater has made a genuine contribution to the drama of social struggle.

ALEXANDER TAYLOR.

★

Forthcoming Broadcasts

Allan Villiers, author and master of the *Joseph Conrad,* on his twenty-two-month round-the-world cruise. Sat., Jan. 30, 12:15 p.m., Columbia.

Education: "How New College Trains Teachers of Tomorrow," by three staff members of New College, Columbia University. Mon., Feb. 8, 2 p.m., N.B.C. red.

People's Lobby: "The American Standard of Living," a symposium including Senator Ernest Lundeen, Dr. Isidor Lubin, and others. Sat., Feb. 13, 1:30 p.m., N.B.C. blue.

Recent Recommendations

MOVIES

Black Legion. Warner Brothers' somewhat superficial document.

The Eternal Mask (Filmarte, N.Y.). Technically fine filming of a story in psychotherapy.

Great Guy. Civic crusading, with James Cagney the attraction.

Camille. The old yarn, worth seeing only because it has Garbo.

Revolutionists. A fine Soviet film of the 1905 days.

PLAYS

But for the Grace of God (Guild, N.Y.). A proletarian play, with kids, written by Leopold Atlas and produced by the Theatre Guild.

You Can't Take It With You (Booth, N.Y.). A funny play by Hart and Kaufman about a goofy family.

The Women (Barrymore, N.Y.). More fun, by Clare Boothe, sharply satirizing the way bourgeois females juggle husbands.

NOTHING BUT *Dancin', Dinin', Drinkin', Doin's.* FUN!
Broadway Entertainment
DICK CARROLL'S ORCHESTRA
Saturday — 8:30 Until
FEBRUARY 13
●
IRVING PLAZA
15th Street & Irving Pl.
Tickets on sale: Workers Bookshop, 50 E. 13th St.; Harlem Bookshop, 115 W. 135th St.; People's Bookshop, 144 2nd Avenue.
Auspices: Chelsea Workers Club, 230 7th Avenue

CLASSIFIED ADS 40c a line
6 words in a line 3 lines minimum

RESORTS

CHESTERS' ZUNBARG. A Delightful Hideaway in the Mountains. Closed for the month of January. Will re-open for Lincoln's and Washington's Birthday week-ends. Lots to do. Make early reservations. Woodbourne, N. Y. Fallsburg 2 F 22.

FOLLOWERS of the TRAIL CAMP, Buchanan, N. Y. Steam-heated house. Winter Sports. Low rates. By train, N. Y. Central to Peekskill, fare 75c. By auto, U. S. 9, stop at Buchanan. Phone Peekskill 2879.

MIAMI, FLORIDA, for your winter vacation. Room and board, $15.00 per week. Excellent food. 660 S. W. 2nd Street

A COZY RETREAT in the Pines, where good food, homelike atmosphere and low rates make an ideal vacation. Moderate rates. Catering to special diets.
MILLARD'S LODGE
801 Clifton Ave. Lakewood, N. J. Phone 216-W.

PINE PARK HOTEL. Formerly Schildkraut's. Highland Falls, N. Y. Near Bear Mountains.
SKATING, RAIN OR SHINE
50 miles from New York City. Wonderful meals. Make reservations now for Lincoln's and Washington's Birthday Holidays. Telephone: Highland Falls 340 or 923.

AMPLIFIERS FOR RENT

DANCE MUSIC amplified from latest swing records. Also loudspeaker for all occasions. White Sound Studio, 47 West 86th Street. SChuyler 4-4449.

BOOKSHOP

FREE ONE WEEK'S reading in our labor circulating library. Subscriptions taken for New Masses, Health & Hygiene. Boro Park Bookshop, 4531—16th Avenue.

DANCE

MERRYMAKERS DANCE. Luxurious spacious ballroom. Hotel Imperial, B'way and 32nd St., every Saturday and Sunday night. Peppy orchestra. Sub. 35c.

FURNISHED ROOMS—BROOKLYN

MANHATTAN BEACH HOTEL
156 West End Avenue—SHeepshead 3-3000.
37 Minutes from Times Square.
Live at this modern fireproof hotel away from noise.
SINGLES $5 WEEKLY UP

ORANGES FOR SALE

SWEET JUICY, sun-ripened on trees. Delivered express prepaid. $3.50 bushel basket. Grapefruit, $3.50; Mixed fruits, $3.50. A. H. Burket, Sebring, Florida.

PIANO TUNING

PIANO TUNING, regulating and repairing. Tone restoring and voicing. Excellent work. Ralph J. Appleton, 126 W. 13th St. Tel.: LOngacre 5-5843.

PICTURE FRAMES

FINE PICTURE FRAMING—Complete selection of modern prints. Reasonable prices. Kanner Adel Frame & Picture Co., 41 E. 29th St., N. Y. C. MU 4-2549.

PLAY TABLE TENNIS

PLAY TABLE TENNIS (Ping-Pong) at the Broadway Table Tennis Courts, 1721 Broadway, bet. 54th-55th Sts., N. Y. C. One flight up. Expert instruction; open from noon until 1 A. M. Tel. CO. 5-9088.

MAILING SERVICE

COMPLETE MAILING SERVICE! We are prepared to handle your Printing, Multigraphing, Mimeographing, and Mailing needs. Quick service, low prices, any quantities. MAILERS ADVERTISING SERVICE, 121 West 42nd Street, N. Y. C. BRyant 9-5053.

MEETING HALL

BEAUTIFUL, spacious hall for meetings, dances and bridges. Reasonable rentals. Mid-Towne Centre, 159 West 49th Street.

RUSSIAN TAUGHT

MODERN RUSSIAN TAUGHT
New Rules and Usages. Tourist conversational course. MISS ISA WILGA, 457 West 57th Street, New York City, COlumbus 5-8450.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Sound Investment

New Masses Two-Year Notes

5% INTEREST

PAYABLE SEMI-ANNUALLY

LAST FALL, NEW MASSES changed its mechanical make-up and refined and revivified its editorial policy. It became an outstanding magazine from every standpoint. The appreciation of these changes took the form of added subscribers and increased circulation.

Last December 15th, NEW MASSES celebrated its 25th Anniversary by selling almost twice as many copies of a single issue as had ever before been sold! And sales have been climbing ever since.

But we are still not satisfied with our circulation—not by a long shot! NEW MASSES should be the recognized leader in one of the greatest struggles of America's progressive forces, a struggle that *must* be won. In order to achieve what we believe to be our rightful stature, in order to make our editorial influence felt over the entire country, we must "merchandise" NEW MASSES. We must introduce the people throughout America to the pages of this magazine.

This is a big job. To do it, we need funds. We are asking you to help us . . . not with gifts, but by a sound investment.

New Masses is offering long-term notes, bearing 5% interest, repayable in two years. Interest will be paid twice annually, April 15 and October 15. The amounts of the notes start at $25 and are in round denominations up to $1000. A private mailing has already brought in subscriptions to the notes amounting to $8000. $12,000 more is absolutely necessary.

To insure these notes, to make them absolutely gilt-edge, we have established a sinking fund. This sinking fund, administered by trustees, can be used for no purpose other than repaying our indebtedness.

Get squarely behind us—and at the same time, make 5% on your idle money—more than twice as much as you earn in a savings bank. These notes are not only for an incontrovertibly worth-while purpose, but they are a sound, remunerative investment as well.

Send the attached coupon to NEW MASSES with your check or money order. Our note will be forwarded to you by return mail.

NEW MASSES, 31 East 27th Street, New York City

Enclosed is $..... loaned to NEW MASSES for a period of two years at 5% interest payable April 15, 1937—October 15, 1937—April 15, 1938—October 15, 1938. I shall expect your note to this effect by return mail.

Name.....

Address.....

City..... State.....

M-2

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED